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A
Ministry of Twenty Years
in
Ann Arbor, Michigan.

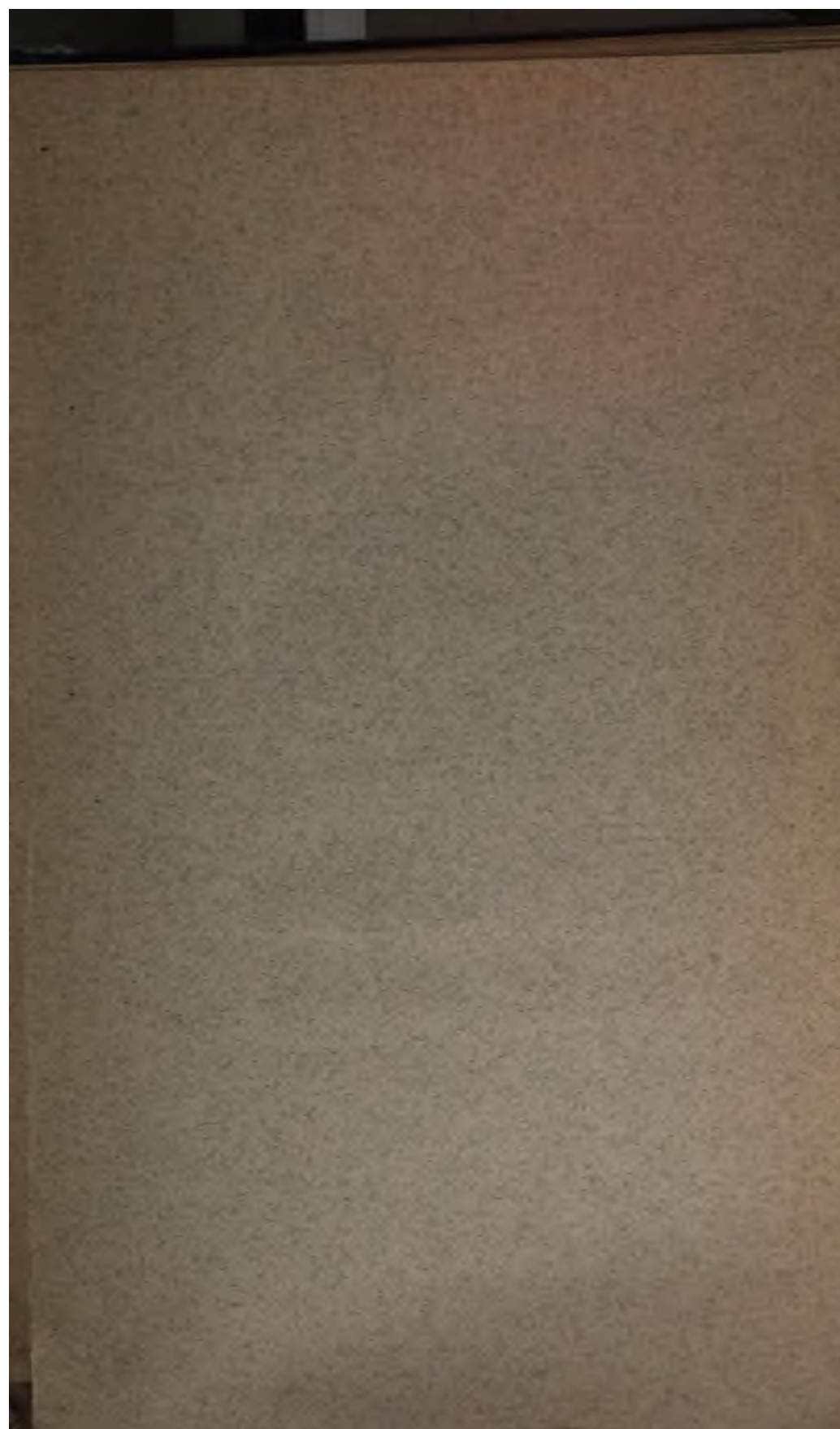
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EMBER, 1893.

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Vol. II.

NOVEMBER, 1893.

ANN ARBOR:
THE REGISTER PUBLISHING CO.
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attractiveness. Sometime it will be seen, even more clearly than it is now, what lasting public benefactors were the men who laid out that charming walk and drive around Cedar Bend, which we have christened as the Boulevard. But it should not stop where it does. That alone is a mere fragment. It should be extended to take in the whole circle of bluffs that line both sides of our river valley. Then we should have one of the most varied, lovely and picturesque drives to be found anywhere in the west. And such a drive would greatly hasten the time, sure to come sooner or later, when all our bluffs and hills will be crowned with fine residences.

Turning from the material to the spiritual side of our progress made during the fifteen years past, it is interesting to notice the steady growth and development of our public schools, the establishment of our prosperous School of Music, the enlargement of the literary activities of the city in many ways, and especially the much earnest work that has been done to promote the moral welfare of the community.

Probably the most unsatisfactory side of the moral life of Ann Arbor during these years, is that which has had to do with the matter of temperance. Not that we have had more intemperance here than in the average town of this size. I think we have not had more. But with our student population and our important educational interests we ought to have had far less. Indeed we ought to have had none at all. The greatest blot upon our city's fair name has been and is our saloons. These are the community's worst foe, the University's worst foe. We have done much in these fifteen years in the way of effort to get rid of them. We have tried to get prohibition in the state, and have failed. We have tried to get local option in the county, and have failed. We have talked a good deal and worked a little in the direction of trying to get the legislature to protect the University, and perhaps the other state institutions of learning, by forbidding the sale of liquor within a radius of five miles around them. This movement seemed at first to have some promise in it. The faculty and friends of the Normal School at Ypsilanti seemed ready to join us in our effort. But when a little opposition and a few obstacles arose in our way we grew discouraged and rather weakly abandoned the movement. I cannot but hope that it will sometime be revived again, and with sufficient courage and determination to carry it to success.

We ought to be spurred to increased effort by the fact

that some of the other leading university towns of the country have fought the saloon battle and have conquered.

Several years ago Cambridge, the seat of Harvard University, a city five or six times as large as Ann Arbor, went into the contest for prohibition, and after a very hard fight won the victory and closed every saloon.

Ithaca, the seat of Cornell University, after a struggle which lasted years, carried the day for prohibition.

Oberlin has prohibition. Evanston, the seat of the Northwestern University, has prohibition. The new University of Chicago is located I believe in the prohibition district of Hyde Park.

Ann Arbor ought to follow the good examples set her. If she refuses to close her saloons she puts the University here under serious disadvantage as compared with these other institutions; for there are few parents who, as between two universities of equal merit, will not choose the one where there are no saloons with their temptations.

Of course it is gratifying that there is as much temperance sentiment in Ann Arbor as there is. It is gratifying that there is all the while so much temperance sentiment in the University. But no one who is a friend either to the University or the town should rest for a moment so long as the curse and blight of a single saloon remains in our midst.

There are a great many other things looking to the moral elevation of society which a retrospect over the last fifteen years shows that we need. But I must take time to mention only one more.

We need less partizanship and less corruption in our city politics. These two things go hand in hand. So many men are partizans first and temperance men second! partizans first and citizens second! making the moral interests of the community subordinate to the success of a party ticket, and often a party ticket made up of shamefully worthless nominees. Must this partizanship in city elections go on? Or has the next fifteen years something better for us? I am happy to say that as the result of some earnest calling of public attention to this matter there have been of late some signs of improvement. Let us each do what we can to push it forward. It is the unanimous voice of our wisest statesmen and students of social and political economy everywhere that municipal politics should everywhere be divorced from state and national politics, and should be carried on distinctly and solely with the interests of the municipality in view, since the

problems of municipal management are almost wholly different from those of state and national politics. If we can thoroughly inaugurate this reform in Ann Arbor it will be of immense service to the city politically, financially and morally. If our Municipal League organized a year ago will lead vigorously in this direction it will put the whole community under obligation to it.

A word about the churches and the religious life of the city during the years of my acquaintance with it. Since I came two or three new religious societies have been organized, and three or four societies have built new houses of worship. There have not been many revivals, so called, but there has been what I suspect is always much better, namely, much steady, quiet, faithful religious work, and a consequent steady and healthy prosperity in the churches. All the churches of the city have been steadily active, and active in many ways. All have carried forward with zeal their own local, home work, and at the same time all have been generally active in discharging their duties of watch-care over the students of their faith who were here in attendance upon our institutions of learning. And so the religious life of the town has been good. I doubt if there are many towns in which the church attendance has averaged higher in proportion to the population, or where the influence of the churches has been relatively stronger.

I may be mistaken, but I think I can see indications of some theological progress, some slight lowering of sectarian walls and fences, some little softening of religious prejudices, some perceptible increase of charity and the spirit of brotherhood among the churches of the city, during these fifteen years. For example, I think that the line between Protestant and Catholic is a little less sharp than it was fifteen years ago; and also that the line between orthodox and liberal is a little less sharp. This is something. But there is room for a good deal of improvement still.

It is something that the different evangelical churches are so cordial toward each other, and are willing to hold union meetings and in other ways co-operate. But may we not hope that the time will come when this fraternity and this co-operation shall be made as wide as Christianity, instead of being limited to the evangelical name? In nearly all of these fifteen years we have had an annual union Thanksgiving service in the city. Why is that service should there not be a union of all, or of all who are willing to join? Why at least should

not the invitation be to all? Is only one church or group of churches under the loving care and providence of God, so that they alone need to voice their gratitude for the year's blessings? May not Christians worship and sing and be thankful together even if they cannot recite the same creed? It seems as if we ought to learn a lesson from the great Parliament of Religions. There "Baptist and Brahman, Presbyterian and Parsee, Methodist and Moslem" worshipped side by side; and nobody was injured, but all were made better men because for a time they forgot their more superficial differences in their deeper agreements. With such an example before us, surely in Ann Arbor all of us who claim to be Christians ought to be willing at least once a year to sing and thank God together, even if some of us do call ourselves liberal Christians and some orthodox Christians. Will not this come before another fifteen years has passed away?

It is something that during all these years the ministers of the town have been able to work together with much good feeling in charitable enterprizes, in temperance, and in social reforms. But why stop with these? Is it not about time to add religion? Why can we not have a regular weekly minister's meeting to which the Unitarian minister and the Catholic minister shall be invited? Even if we don't all think alike, is not that the very reason why we should come together to compare notes, to learn from each other, and to cultivate that greatest of all the Christian graces, charity?

II. I pass now to a few thoughts connected with the history of the University during the fifteen years of my residence here.

I have already said that the student attendance has more than doubled in this decade and a half. I recollect that when I came the University enrollment was eleven or twelve hundred, and that was so far beyond almost any other institution in the land, that people were amazed at it. But it has gone on increasing from year to year until last year it rose to twenty-six or twenty-seven hundred. Nor has this increase been caused by a lowering of standards, but it has been achieved simultaneously with an elevation of standards in most departments.

Four years ago it was my fortune to spend some time in England. On visiting Oxford I took pains to compare the courses of study in the literary colleges there, and the requirements there for matriculation and for degrees, with our courses of study and our requirements for matriculation and for degrees

here. And I found, to my surprise, that a degree there, in England's most renowned University, meant as a rule, pretty nearly a year less of work than it means in Michigan University. You may be sure that I came home prouder than I had ever been of an institution in which such work was being required and done.

Many of the best buildings of the University have been erected during these years,—among them the Museum, the main Library, the Physical and Physiological, and Mechanical Laboratory buildings, large additions to the Chemical, Civil Engineering and Law buildings, the two Hospitals, and the Gymnasium—a long and important list for so short a period of time.

Two considerable plots of ground have been bought by the University within the same period—that on which the Hospitals have been erected, and the Athletic Field. The first of these it is to be hoped has ended forever the periodic agitation of the question of the removal of a part or all of the Medical Department of the University to Detroit; and the second has kindled a new and wider interest among the students in athletic sports and physical culture,—a kind of culture which in the past has been quite too much overlooked.

Nothing in connection with the University has more interested me in these years than the experiment in co-education, which it has been working out. Educated myself in a college where young women were not allowed, I observed the results here closely, and for a time with some uncertainty. But I must confess that the uncertainty has passed away. After fifteen years of the closest possible watching of the experiment on all its sides and in all its bearings, I am convinced that the highest and truest form of college education for both young men and young women is co-education. It is beneficial to the young women; it is equally beneficial to the young men. It refines and ennobles both. It gives each juster views of the other. It fits each better for life.

I must say, however, that I see what seems to me one serious lack in the form which co-education, up to this time, has taken here. That lack appears in the absence of women in the University Faculty of Instruction. Thus our co-education as yet is only partial and one-sided. To make it complete and rounded, I cannot but believe that all these young women and these young men should come under the influence and instruction, during these formative student years, not of men only, but also of wise, cultured and noble women.

Of only one thing more in connection with the University have I time to speak. That is its moral and religious life. In this I have naturally felt a deeper interest than in anything else. Of course, of anything looking like sectarianism within the University's walls, I have been jealous. But with everything calculated to strengthen the moral life of the students, or to deepen their reverence for religion in its purer and higher aspects, I have been profoundly in sympathy.

It has been gratifying to see so many of the professors caring for religion, regularly attending and supporting the various churches, and active in various ways in religious work. This is as it ought to be. It has been gratifying and encouraging to find so cordial relations existing between the churches and the University, and so many students attending the different churches. Of course, I have been most glad to find young men and women accepting the form of faith that seems to me truest, and attending religious services here. But to those who cannot accept our gospel and who do accept another, I have ever said, Go where you belong, and God bless you; help support the church you believe in; do what in you lies to make that church a moral power in the community, and in the lives of the students who attend it.

It has been gratifying to see growing up within the past few years a new form of relationship between the churches of the city and the students. I refer to that effected by the erection of church houses or guild buildings, to serve as social headquarters for the students connected with the various religious denominations. Harris and McMillan halls, with their excellent appointments of libraries, reading rooms, gymnasiums, social rooms, halls for public assembly, and so forth, have been built and fitted up by the Episcopalian and Presbyterian churches of the state, and steps have been taken by one or two other denominations looking in the same direction. We may well wish that this movement may go on until every important denomination in the country, our own included, shall have a religious home for its students here. Naturally each denomination desires to throw around its own young people such protection as it can. How much better that it should send them to a place like this where they may have the many-sided advantages of a great University, and then give them the protection of a religious home here, than to do them the life-long injustice of compelling them to get their education at a small sectarian college, where the horizon of thought is necessarily limited in so many ways.

But during all the years of my Ann Arbor life there has existed here another organization coming still nearer to the students than the churches, and possessing perhaps larger opportunities for influencing their moral and religious lives. I mean the Students' Christian Association. In its career therefore I have felt a very deep interest from the beginning. Again and again, as the years have gone on, I have been stirred and thrilled as I have thought of the almost unparalleled opportunities for doing good that were offered to it as a religious association existing in the midst of so great a body of students. And I have most earnestly longed to see it fully alive, awake, faced to the sunrise, equal to the great demands and responsibilities resting upon it.

In its earliest days I believe the Association stood upon a somewhat broad basis. But about the time I came here it made a change, and since then has admitted nobody to full membership except members of evangelical churches. As a result, its work has of course been religiously narrow in its scope, confining itself mainly to prayer meetings and bible classes of the old type, and hence reaching only a small part of the students, and failing to be anything like so great a moral power in the University as it ought to have been.

But last year, under the leadership of its more advanced men, it took a long step ahead. A strong effort was made to open its doors fully to all students who loved the Christian ideal and were animated by the Christian purpose; that is, to change the Association from a merely evangelical organization, and make it what according to its name it ought always to have been, *the Christian Association of the University*—an organization whose aim should be to gather into itself the *entire Christian life* of the students. The effort was partly successful; but only partly. Like so many good movements it ended in a compromise. Membership was opened to all Christians without respect to sect or name. But the leading offices and the central management of the association were kept still in the hands of persons of the evangelical, or trinitarian orthodox, faith. This change was good, as far as it went, but it did not go far enough.

It was so great an advance, however, over the old, that it is already bearing fruit in a gratifying enlargement of work. The activities of the Association are being planned this year on a much broader scale and in a much more inclusive spirit than ever before. The social work which the Associ-

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ation is doing is altogether admirable. The opportunities for Bible study offered are particularly large and varied.

But here limitations appear. So far as I see, all this Bible study is in classes under distinctly orthodox instruction. Liberal Christianity has always led in the world's Biblical scholarship. More and more are liberal views of the Bible justifying themselves at the bar of the higher biblical criticism. The Student's Christian Association should recognize this, and open its doors to biblical instruction and study upon liberal lines as well as upon orthodox and evangelical lines.

Of course I am profoundly appreciative of the advance which the Association has made. But I want it to go further. I want it to advance into the clear sunlight of an absolutely broad and inclusive Christianity. Will it do this? Can it do this while standing on its present only half-broad basis? With its control wholly in orthodox hands, will liberal students find themselves enjoying equal freedom with their orthodox brothers? Will their thought be made fully welcome? *Can* it be? Will liberal speakers be invited to speak in the meetings of the association, and to speak freely their liberal views as evangelical speakers are invited to speak freely their evangelical views? And, as I have already suggested, amidst the extended provisions that are made for Bible study under evangelical instruction, will provision be made, or allowed, for such study under liberal instruction? The answer to these questions I shall await, as you all will await, with deep interest and solicitude.

But of no future thing do I feel more confident than that some time, sooner or later, our great University, absolutely unsectarian by the very fact that it belongs to the State, will have an association as broad and inclusive as its entire religious life. May that good time come soon! And may that association be the enlarged and glorified present Students' Christian Association!

III. This brings me to the third and last division of my subject—those recollections of my Ann Arbor years which cluster about this church, this religious home of ours, our own work. Naturally, these recollections are the most numerous of all, and such as lay closest to my heart. It would have been easy to fill the whole hour with these alone. But perhaps that would not have been so profitable, as to take in, as we have done, the wider sweep of vision. We began our work together, as pastor and people, in the old wood church on the corner of Fifth and Ann streets—a notable building in

the history of Ann Arbor, because it had been so long occupied by the First Methodist Society, and in an earlier day used through many years as the place for holding the Commencements of the University. Before I came the Unitarian Society had occupied the building perhaps a dozen years as its first church home. It was there that my predecessor, Rev. Charles Brigham, did his faithful and able work. It was not strange, therefore, that you became attached to the place, as I did also in the four years of my ministry there. But the building was old and cold, and not well located, and unsightly, and we were all glad when the time came that we could have another, more centrally situated, more comfortable and attractive, more a home than that could ever be. All of you who were with us then know what it cost of courage, of determination, of self-sacrifice, of toil and burden-bearing together to get the beautiful new home. We built our very hearts into its walls. You remember it all, and I think none of you regret a dollar of the money spent or an hour of the loving labor given. We remember, too, with gratitude the help that came from so many friends outside.

This substantial and beautiful church building, then, with its furnishings and appointments for carrying on a many-sided religious work, is one of the achievements of our years together.

Another is the parsonage, next door to the church, built and now entirely paid for.

Another is our fine and growing church library.

Another, if I may speak of it here, and I think I fittingly may, for it could not have been done without your sympathy, encouragement, and permission to use the time necessary for its attainment—another work of these years has been the establishment and successful carrying on for eight years now of the *Unitarian*, the magazine with which you are so familiar, which every month carries the word of your pastor and of so many others to a congregation of many thousands, scattered from Maine to California, from Ann Arbor to England and India and Japan.

It is easy to see that the work done by a minister in a college town like ours must be in important respects different from that of the ordinary minister. Or rather it must be that of the ordinary minister with an important *plus*. We have here two parishes. One is the local parish, which has essentially the same needs as those of parishes generally. The other is the large student parish, made up of some hundreds of

young men and women, away from home, spending the important years of their college life here. The needs of this parish are peculiar. These young people come here strangers. They must be searched out, helped to acquaintance, and into a social life that will be both pleasant and elevating. They must be protected as far as practicable from the temptations and dangers that everywhere confront the young who are away from home and home influences. They must be helped in their moral and religious culture,—a kind of culture not less important than the intellectual, and that ought to go ever hand in hand with it. Especially urgent is the help required by many of them in their efforts to find a basis of religious faith that is rational and stable, amidst the theological overturnings of our time.

I have tried to keep constantly in mind the needs—often the very different needs—of these two parishes, and to shape my work as well as I could with a view to both.

We have carried on all these years our regular Sunday morning and evening services, for purposes of worship, religious instruction, and moral and spiritual quickening. By means of these services we have sought to deepen and purify our own lives, to lift up noble ideals before the young men and women who were with us, and to let shine in the community the light of a religious faith that we believe to be true and uplifting. We have tried ever to wed faith and intelligence. We have endeavored ever to make reason religious and religion reasonable.

As a rule the Sunday morning service has had in view primarily the home parish; and yet the students have never failed to come mornings in such numbers as to make up nearly fifty per cent. of our congregations. The evening services have generally been shaped primarily for the students, and here therefore the thoughts of education and instruction have been a little more prominent than otherwise they would have been. Thus the evening discourses have naturally fallen to a greater or less extent into series. And since to my thought religion is something very large, covering the whole upper side of man's life, therefore it is not strange that these courses of evening sermons have as the years have gone on reached out and included a somewhat wide range of subjects,—some of them doctrinal, some historical, some biographical, some ethical, some practical, some dealing with the Old Testament, some with the New, some with the life and teachings of Jesus and the origin of the Christian church, some with comparative religion, some

with Liberal Christianity in its various forms, some with general religious progress, some with philanthropies and social reforms, some with student life, some with character building, many with questions of current religious thought.

Of course these series of sermons have awakened different degrees of interest, but it has been gratifying to find many of them crowding our place of worship from the opening discourse to the closing, stirring large numbers of young men and women to more earnest thinking, and producing effects, traces of which have continued to come to me for years.

But we have not stopped with our Sunday services. To us a church is more than a pulpit, however important the work of the pulpit may be; and religion is larger than Sunday, however well that priceless day may be spent. My own idea of a church has always been of something many-sided, touching life at many points, helpful in many ways, with places in it for old and young, something for all to learn, work for all to do, ideals for all to strive after. We have tried to make ours such a church as this—our common religious home, our common school of truth, our common sanctuary. To enable us to carry into practical realization this large and many-sided conception of the church and of religion, we have found it necessary to employ many agencies—the book, the tract, the religious periodical, the Sunday school, the Bible class, the religious study class of various kinds, the Unity Club, the lecture course, the boys club, the sewing school, the Young Men's Guild, the King's Daughters organization, the young people's religious meeting,—all these besides the regular Sunday service.

Some of these agencies are so important that I ought to say a separate word about them.

First the Sunday school. We are quite too apt to think of all Sunday school work as of slight value. But as a fact our Sunday school work throughout all these years has been planned as carefully as the work of our public schools, with the aim in view steadily not only of cultivating the religious nature of the children, and forming helpful friendships and associations between them and their Sunday school teachers, but also with the aim of giving to them systematic instruction in the Bible—its stories, its biographies, its history, the origin and growth of its various books, its ethical and religious teachings; and then beyond this Bible knowledge, instruction also in religious history, in religious doctrines, in the lives of noble men and women of all time, in temperance, in kindness to animals, in duties at home, duties at school, duties to society, duties to

God,—in short in all the more important lines of knowledge which tend to build up character, and lay in the young the basis for a pure, noble and enduring religious faith. Is such work as this to be lightly esteemed?

Our Students' Bible Class work too, carried on nine months of each year, has, in this decade and a half, covered a wide range of studies, in Biblical history and criticism, in comparative religion, in religious philosophy, in religious biography, in the history of Christianity, in the growth and principles of the different sects, in ethics, in charities and in philanthropies. I think we can hardly over-estimate the value to young men and women of such instruction as this, given conscientiously and steadily right on from year to year through the period of their lives when their characters are forming, and when their moral and religious principles and ideals are being shaped. I speak of the class the more freely because for the past thirteen years it has been taught not by me but my wife. Most of you know the heart and the enthusiasm, only a few of you know the labor, she has put into her task all these years. It is gratifying to know that the class has met with such constant favor and success. Sixty, seventy, eighty, a hundred, and sometimes more than a hundred, keen young minds, all alert for truth, coming together month after month and year after year for the study of the most important subjects connected with human life, may well be an inspiration to the teacher, and a cause for rejoicing to us all who love the truth and believe that it is by the truth that men are to be saved.

An association whose work has been indispensable to our church life throughout nearly all our history since I have known you, has been our Ladies' Union. I shall never forget that it was this organization of our women that took the first heroic step to raise funds for the new church home. The work of building, and especially the work of furnishing the new home when built, must have been seriously delayed but for its never-failing activity and devotion. Nor did its usefulness cease with the completion of the new church. It has always been an important agency in the social, charitable, helpful, and intellectual life of the church. The courses of study that it has carried on for the last ten or a dozen years have been almost as varied and wide as those of the Bible class.

For the past half dozen years our large King's Daughters association, made up of Unitarian young ladies both of the

town and the University, has been one of the most efficient and satisfactory of our organizations,—its work being social, helpful, and religious.

Our Young Men's Guild is also an association from which we hope much,—its aim being to draw all the young men within our reach into acquaintance and comradeship, and to carry on various lines of practical religious work.

Our Unity Club, organized the first month of my ministry here, and hence now fifteen years old, has been through all this period perhaps the chief representative on the one hand of our social life, and on the other of our literary or intellectual, as distinguished from our religious life. Who can tell the value of the work it has done, in binding our young people together, in bringing students into acquaintance with us, in furnishing to all, old and young, facilities for social intercourse of the very best kind, in stimulating intellectual activity among us all; and in reaching a hand of fraternity out across sectarian lines, to touch and draw into friendly relations with us many outsiders, many members of other churches, who would not come to our religious services, but who would come to our Unity Club lectures, literary meetings, concerts and socials. Thus, with all the rest, it has been a constant silent influence in the city to soften religious prejudices, and draw people of different religious names into a little more friendly relations.

Finally, our Library, Reading Room, and tract distribution work, have supplemented all other activities by bringing to their aid, all the while, the printed page, thus appealing to the eye as well as the ear, reaching the homes of many who are never seen inside our church walls, finding entrance into hundreds of students' rooms, and carrying the message of our liberal gospel on the wings of the postal service over hill and valley, land and sea, to every part of our own country, and to many a land besides.*

*In our tract distribution work a constant and indispensable source of supply has been the American Unitarian Association, Boston, which has every year sent us its tracts in large quantities and without charge. We have also used many printed sermons of Dr. James Freeman Clarke, Rev. M. J. Savage, Rev. John W. Chadwick, Rev. Brooke Herford, Rev. Joseph May, Dr. E. E. Hale, and others of our leading ministers; some Unity Mission tracts and pamphlets, from Chicago; and a considerable quantity of Universalist tracts kindly furnished, at our request, by the Universalist Publishing House, Boston, Rev. Lee S. McCollester, Detroit, and others. All these have been supplemented by a large and constantly renewed home supply. A partial list of my own tracts

A few words now about the more distinctively student side of our church work, and I shall have done.

I well know there are persons in the community who deny to us as a church the Christian name; who call us destroyers of the Bible, and enemies of religion; who point to that which we are doing among the young men of the University as a work of skepticism and infidelity. What shall we say to such? Shall we reply to them in anger? Not so. Such persons are to be looked upon with sorrow, not with bitterness. They little know what they say. The truth is, the work of this church which rises in importance perhaps above any other, is that of defending Christianity, saving the Bible, showing that faith has everlasting foundations on which to build, making skepticism and infidelity impossible among young men and women by showing them a form of religion that is self-evidencing—a form so natural, so reasonable, so inherently excellent and true that they can no more reject it than they can reject the beauty of the lily, the fragrance of the rose, the charm of music, the truth of mathematical axioms, or the voice of conscience in the soul.

Of all the memories of the fifteen years past none are so precious as those which call to mind the great numbers of and sermons printed and circulated during these years is as follows: What do Unitarians Believe? The Origin and History of Unitarianism; Who are Liberal Christians? Principles of Liberal Christianity; The Better Religion Coming; Is Inquiry in Religion Safe? Must we Accept the Whole Bible, or None? The Higher Conception of God; True and False Liberalism (printed first privately, later issued as a tract by the A. U. A.); Who are Saved? Selections from the Standard Creeds of Orthodoxy; Religious Insincerity; Channing; James Freeman Clarke; Robert Ingersoll; Thomas Paine; Giordano Bruno; Talmage; The Good and Evil in the Teachings of Mr. Moody; The Great Unities of the Unitarian Faith; The Revised Version of the Bible; Unitarianism and Christianity; Prayer; Religion as an Experience; Conversion; The Issue in the West, or the Need of Planting Unitarianism upon a Theistic Basis; Temperance Reform; The Duty of Patriots in a Time of Peace (a Grand Army Sermon); How to Grow Beautiful; The Opening of the World's Fair on Sunday; Making Preparation for the October of Life; Duties and Opportunities of Educated Young Women; Sowing and Reaping. These tracts and sermons, while printed primarily for use in connection with the Ann Arbor work, have also been ordered in larger or smaller quantities by ministers, churches and postoffice committees for use in other places. The number printed of each has ranged from 1,000 to 10,000, except in two cases, where it has gone higher—the tract on the History of Unitarianism having reached its fifteenth thousand, and that entitled What do Unitarians Believe? its eighty-fifth thousand.

young men and women who, having come to us with their religious faith gone or fast going, through the influence of this church have been helped to faith again, and this time a faith not to be shaken because based on reason and the deepest instincts of the soul. Commonly, perhaps *most* commonly, these young persons have been children of orthodox parents; often they have been church members; sometimes they have been young men studying for the ministry, and even in several cases for the foreign missionary work; but as they passed away from the circumscribed influences of their earlier years into the larger world of independent life, and began to think for themselves and to feel the influence of the scientific spirit of the times, they found one after another of the doctrines of orthodoxy which they had been taught, growing to be no longer possible of belief, and as they had always identified religion with these beliefs, the dreaded conviction slowly but surely forced itself upon them that they must give up religion itself as a superstition.

I could easily fill an hour with accounts of young men who have told me this melancholy story, and assured me that this church has been their religious salvation. When they began coming here they saw no light. They had outgrown the old system of thought and could no more return to it than a hatched birdling could return again into the shell from which it had come out. But here they found a religion which from the first commended itself to them as reasonable, and which, as they studied it further, met fully the demands both of their rational and their spiritual natures. Hardly a week passes in which I do not receive letters from some one or more of the multitude of young men and women who have gone out from us, thanking me in warmest words for that gospel of reason and love and hope which means so much to them, and which they heard for the first time here. Many a young man has come to me at the close of his years of study in this city to say: "You can never know what the Unitarian faith has done for me. It has given me back religion, and religion enlarged, lifted up, ennobled beyond anything I had ever conceived before. It has transformed all my ideals and conceptions of life." Again and again young men going away have said to me with moist eyes and full hearts: "Of all that I have received from these precious years in Ann Arbor, the best, that which I would least willingly part with, has come from this church."

These, friends, are our rewards. These are our answers

to any who say we have no mission of faith and life to the young men and women who come to this city for a home during their years of college training.

Nor should it be forgotten that these students who go out from here carrying in their hearts this larger religious faith, go for the most part to be missionaries of it. I hear from them in all parts of the country. Scores and hundreds of letters come from them asking for liberal tracts to scatter among their friends in the communities where they locate as doctors, lawyers, teachers, editors, fillers of important positions in every walk of life. There is hardly a liberal church in the West or South that does not have one or more of these Ann Arbor graduates as active workers in it. I went last year to exchange pulpits with a brother minister in one of the largest western cities, and found that the chairman of his board of trustees was a man converted to Unitarianism here. I went to another city to exchange with one of the ministers there and found one of my old student helpers the superintendent of the Sunday school. I went to another and found the treasurer of the church, the president of the Unity Club and three or four others workers were from Ann Arbor. A few weeks ago I attended one of our state conferences; the leading trustee of the church where the conference met—the man who had almost made the church—told us that he learned the Unitarian gospel in the Bible class of Mr. Brigham, my predecessor here. The prime movers in starting several of the Michigan Unitarian churches were Ann Arbor students; and the same is true to my knowledge of at least two of the Universalist churches of the state. In the Missouri Valley, churches were started several years ago in two cities not very far apart. The man that sowed the seed of the liberal faith in both cities, and made both churches possible, was one of our students, who had located first in one city then in the other as a teacher. Two state capitals, one in the West and one in the South, have had Unitarian churches planted in them by young men who went out from us here filled with the missionary spirit. As soon as they got themselves established in those cities, one as a lawyer and the other as a physician, they began making inquiries for Unitarians or persons with Unitarian sympathies, and distributing liberal tracts and printed sermons as they found opportunity. In a few months each began inviting such persons as he found interested, to meet for an hour on Sunday in a private parlor to read a sermon and talk together. Thus both worked on

patiently and earnestly in spite of difficulties and discouragements, until at last their efforts were crowned with success and permanent churches were established, one of which has now a good house of worship.

So it is that the leaven of our liberal gospel planted in young minds here is doing its work in scores and hundred of places all up and down the land.

There has been no time for years that we have not had here from one to three students studying with the ministry in view. Some of these are now effective preachers.

Beyond our own country, too, the influence of our work goes. Foreign students who have attended our services here and have become interested in our thought have gone away to carry the good seed of it to China, Egypt, Turkey, Bulgaria, Mexico, Central America, South America, Australasia, various countries of Europe, and I know not how many other lands. Mr. Knapp and Mr. MacCauley have written me from Japan that several of their best helpers there, without whom it would have been difficult to carry on some important departments of their work, are Japanese young men who were taught the Unitarian faith by us in Ann Arbor.

But enough.

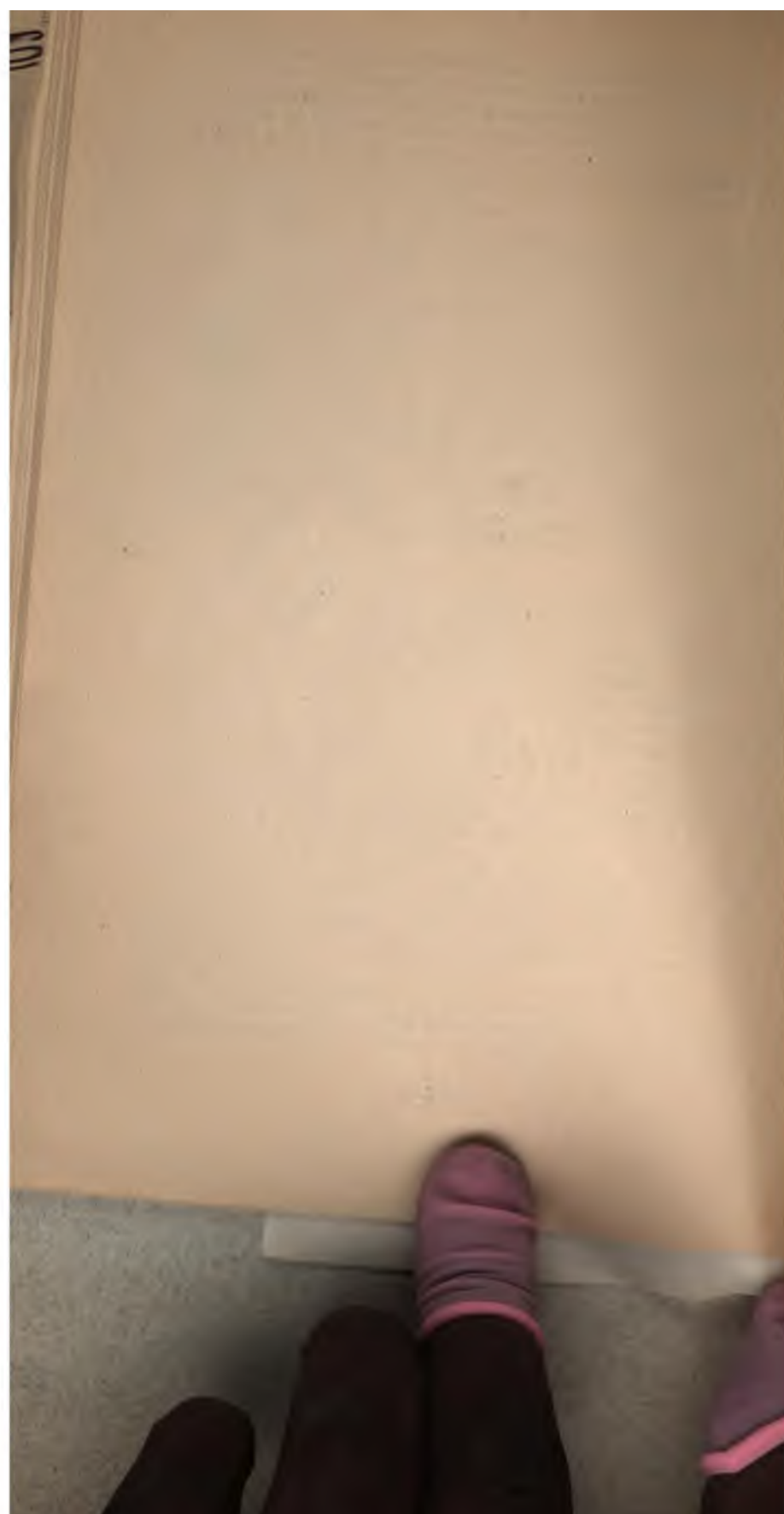
Thus we get at least a glimpse, of the work—the many sided, and shall I not say important work, which as pastor and people we have been trying to do together during these fifteen years;—trying to do together for the strengthening of our own moral and spiritual lives; for the religious training of our children; for the elevation of the community in which we live; for the salvation of the young men and women in our institutions of learning who in their search for religious truth look to us for light; for the benefit of the generations coming after us; for the service and glory of Him, over all, who gives us our work to do, and asks us to do it well.

As we look back to the past, do we see that we have failed and come short in much? For this, tears and regret, and the prayer, God forgive! Do we see that we have succeeded in any measure? For this, joy! But let the honor and the praise be to God, to whom it is due a thousand times more than to us.

And now in conclusion, as we turn from the past to the future, to take up the still greater work of the years that are to come, in what spirit shall we go forward? Let it be with

humility and yet with courage; with glad joy, and a more real consecration to our task than we have ever known. To few are given at once such privileges and such responsibilities as to us. Let us strive more earnestly than ever before to be worthy of them.





The Door of New Opportunity Open to Educated Young Women.

A SERMON

BY

REV. J. T. SUNDERLAND.

Preached to the King's Daughters, Ann Arbor, Mich.

ANN ARBOR:
THE REGISTER PUBLISHING COMPANY.
1891.

WHAT IS THE BIBLE?

BY

REV. J. T. SUNDERLAND, M. A.

NEW YORK: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS. CLOTH, \$1.00.

CONTENTS:

The Origin and Growth of the Bible.
The Men who wrote it.
Its Relation to the Times from which it came.
Its Progressive Character.
How its various Books came to be gathered into a Canon.
The Nature of its Inspiration.
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THE LIBERAL CHRISTIAN MINISTRY,

I. As a Calling for Young Men;

II. As a Calling for Young Women.

BY REV. J. T. SUNDERLAND.

Boston: Geo. H. Ellis. Price: Cloth, 50c; Paper, 25c.

"Its spirit is earnest; its style is charming; it is the best estimate of the Liberal ministry as a life-word we have ever seen."—*Universalist Record*.

"The book is earnest, honest, noble. We commend it to all parents as they deliberate on what they shall do with their sons and daughters. We commend it to all young men and women who are pondering in their hearts the momentous problem as to what they shall undertake for a life-work."—DR. J. COLEMAN ADAMS, Brooklyn, N. Y.

"I have read with great interest your book on the Liberal Ministry, especially your plea for the admission of women. In this country the preaching woman is unknown; but what you write upon the qualification of women for the whole ministry has my entire sympathy."—DR. A. KUENEN, Leiden, Holland.

INTRODUCTORY.

Preceding the sermon at the "King's Daughters' Service" in the Unitarian Church on Sunday, November 29th, Mrs. Utter's poem, "The King's Daughter," was read by Miss Annie Briggs, and a short sketch of the History and Aims of the Order of the King's Daughters was read by Miss Minnie Walton. The two added so much to the interest of the service that they are printed here. The church was beautifully decorated with flowers, and the motto of the Order, "IN HIS NAME," was displayed in silver letters on the wall beside the pulpit.

THE KING'S DAUGHTER.

She wears no jewels upon hand or brow ;
No badge by which she may be known of men.
But, though she walks in plain attire now,
She is the daughter of the King; and when
Her Father calls her to his throne to wait,
She will be clothed as doth befit her state.

Her Father sent her in his land to dwell,
Giving to her a work that must be done.
And since the King loves all his people well,
Therefore she, too, cares for them, every one.
And when she stoops to lift from want and sin,
The brighter shines her royalty therein.

She walks erect thro' dangers manifold,
While many sink and fail on either hand.
She heeds not summer's heat nor winter's cold,
For both are subject to the King's command.
She need not be afraid of anything,
Because she is the daughter of the King!

Even when the Angel comes, that men call Death—
A name of terror—it appals not her;
She turns to look at him with quickened breath,
Thinking "It is the royal messenger!"
Her heart rejoiceth that her Father calls
Her back, to live within the palace walls.

For though the land she lives in is most fair,
Set round with streams, like picture in its frame,
Yet often in her heart deep longings are
For that "imperial palace whence she came."
Not perfect quite seems any earthly thing,
Because—she is the daughter of the King!

Rebecca Palfrey Utter.

HISTORY AND AIMS OF THE KING'S DAUGHTERS.

The society known as the King's Daughters was formally organized in New York City, January 13, 1886. Ten women came together at the residence of Mrs. Frank Bottome (now president of the order) "to form an outward union to embody the union of Spirit already born of God."

In other words, knowing that in unity there is strength, these women organized so as to make their individual efforts most efficient. One of the members, Mrs. Irving, suggested the name King's Daughters, which, of all the names proposed, was most favorably received. The badge chosen was that of a purple ribbon to be worn with or without the Maltese cross.

For the rest of their actions I will quote the pamphlet issued by the order: "Since to look upward is to trust, to look forward is to hope, and to look outward is to feel the woes of others, forgetting our own, and to lend a hand is only love in action, the members chose for their motto, 'Look up and not down, Look forward and not back, Look out and not in, and Lend a Hand,' and since Christ, the elder Brother, lived these mottoes, from his example they took for their watch-word 'In His Name.' The King's Daughters are responsible only to the King for their choice of a field of labor, hence in all details relating to work there is largest liberty. The object is not to cumber the service with needless organization, but to unite women willing and eager to do the Master's work in a way to secure to each the sympathy and co-operation of all, and to induce all to widen the circle of helpfulness by drawing into it constantly more and more hands to work for humanity, and more and more hearts to love the King."

The pamphlet further states that each branch is to consist of not less than ten members, and that the work is to be carried on in tens.

I hear some one ask, Why did *ten* women come together? and why are circles of *ten* to be formed? It came about as follows: In 1870 Rev. Edward Everett Hale published a short story entitled "Ten Times One is Ten." For the benefit of those who have not read the book, I will briefly tell the story: Ten persons coming together at the funeral of a certain Harry Wadsworth were naturally lead into conversation about the merits of their dead friend. It happened that each one had been helped in some way by him, and talking over his life they found that these four mottoes might characterize his principles: "Look up and not down, Look forward and not back, Look out and not in, and Lend a Hand." Before separating they resolved to meet again in ten years, hoping that in the meantime each would have so lived up to these mottoes that ten persons should be better for each one's having lived in the world. In ten years accordingly they came together, each having converted ten, who, in their turn, were willing to pledge themselves each to convert ten other persons. And so the story says the numbers swelled by tens, and hundreds, and thousands, until the whole world had become converted and were living according to these mottoes.

The book was widely read, and made a great impression on its readers—so great an impression that very soon many clubs were formed of people who proposed to put the theory of the book into practice. These clubs went by different names; some were called

"Wadsworth Clubs," some "Look Up Legions," others "Lend a Hand Clubs" or "Ten Times One Societies."

Now, it happened that in the latter part of the year 1885, Rev. Edward Everett Hale lectured in New York City before some of the Ten Times One or Lend a Hand clubs, and, remaining over Sunday, preached a sermon which was printed in the New York papers, the subject of which was, "The King's Work." As this sermon was preached only a few weeks before the organization of the King's Daughters, it is plain whence they received their working ideas. Indeed, in a pamphlet issued later, they publicly acknowledge "their indebtedness to these friends (meaning the Lend a Hand Clubs, etc.) for admirable suggestions which they have thankfully adopted."

This quotation leads me to speak of an event in the history of the King's Daughters, which I would gladly omit, but, as this would not be a true history without it, I shall have to state, that about three years ago the Central Council almost suffered disruption. About one-half of the Council threatened to secede if the Trinitarian creed was not accepted by the entire organization. Accordingly a pamphlet declaring the order Trinitarian, was sent to the various circles. When, however, the injustice of the action was pointed out (considering that their motto, ideas, possibly their name, had been taken from the clubs of Dr. Hale, a Unitarian minister), I am glad to be able to record that the Christian spirit of toleration prevailed; the objectionable leaflet was withdrawn, and another issued which stated that the Council "as an associated sisterhood dare not assume the divine prerogative of calling His children by name. The Lord only can know his own."

In the spirit, then, of peace and good will, the organization has grown, until it numbers more than one hundred and forty thousand members and it is constantly increasing.

The Central Council consists of the original ten and five other members elected annually. The present officers are: President, Mrs. Frank Bottome; Vice-Pres. Miss Kate Bond; Secretary, Mrs. M. L. Dickinson; Treasurer, Mrs. G. H. Libby.

Any woman may form a branch by uniting nine women with herself for joint effort in doing good. Anything, however small or simple, that helps another human being to be better or happier, is proper work for the Daughters of the King.

The King's Daughters are carrying flowers to the sick, singing and reading to the suffering in hospitals, teaching in Mission Sunday Schools, supplying jails, poor-houses and asylums with literature, giving Christmas presents to poor children, and indeed doing almost numberless things, in quiet, unostentatious ways, to help the world along.

God grant that their members may so increase, by tens and hundreds, that the world, as in the story, may learn to

Look up and not down,
Look forward and not back,
Look out and not in, and
Lend a hand.

I close with a poem written by Mary Lowe Dickinson, the Secretary of the order, which breathes the beautiful spirit of devotion

and service which I trust may always animate us as King's Daughters in Ann Arbor, as well as our sisters everywhere.

Lead now, as forth we go,
 Master divine;
On paths of joy or woe,
 Let thy face shine.
Where winds of trouble blow,
Where tides of sorrow flow,
Fearless our steps shall go,
 Close after thine.

Ours be the willing hand
 Thy work to share ;
Ours be the loving heart
 Thy cross to bear.
True Daughters of the King,
New songs our lips shall sing ;
Faint hearts and sorrowing—
 These are our care.

Lowly our tasks, or grand
 Serve we the same ;
Bring, by thine own right hand,
 Praise from our shame.
If but some soul in pain
Look up and smile again,
No deed can be in vain
 Wrought "In His Name."

Drawn by thy spirit now
 Ourselves we bring ;
On prayer, and song, and vow
 Our souls take wing.
Forth from this blessed place
Lead us to show thy grace ;
Write on each lifted face
 "Child of a King."



SERMON.

THE DOOR OF NEW OPPORTUNITY OPEN TO EDUCATED YOUNG WOMEN.

"Behold I have set before thee an Open Door."—Rev. III. 8.

I am sure you must all have been interested in the account to which we have listened, of the origin, aims and work of the beautiful organization which claims our attention to-day—the King's Daughters. I am sure Religion is doing its true work in this world when it is helping men and women to understand that they are children of the King—not merely, are going to be in some far off time or some other world, but are now, to-day.

Teach men that they are miserable worms of the dust, and you need not be surprised if they grovel. But teach them that they are children of God and heirs of his immortality, and you put before them one of the strongest of all incentives to stand on their feet, and try to be their best selves. For if we are children of the Highest, how can we stoop to what is low and unworthy? Surely it is for King's sons and daughters to behave ever in a manner worthy of their exalted position and nature.

It is one of the most encouraging signs of the times in the religious sky of to-day, that Christianity is growing simple, human, practical,—that it is coming down out of the clouds of merely far away and speculative things, and beginning to concern itself with a new zeal, and in ever multiplying ways, with the many-sided interests of humanity. The church is getting for itself a new ideal. The old ideal of it as a receptacle for saved saints,—an ark to receive the elect, separate them from the perishing world, and carry them safe to glory, is passing away; and in place of it the more beautiful, helpful and Christian ideal is appearing, of the church as a home, a family, a band of brothers and sisters, old and young, united together, not because they are perfect but because they are not, to seek

improvement together, to seek truth together, to be helpful to each other in every way they can, to stand together for good causes, to stir up one another to interest in the highest things, to plan together and labor together for the building up of the Kingdom of Heaven right among men, in every community and home and human life.

This new and nobler conception of Christianity and the church, which is appearing not alone in any one denomination, but more or less in all, comes to manifestation in no more interesting or hopeful forms than in the many organizations for practical Christian work that are springing up among young people, one of the very noblest of which is this which calls us together here, the King's Daughters. I am glad for the opportunity which we have just had of hearing from one of its members a brief account of the history, aims and work of this organization. I have long wanted you all to know, not only what our own branch is doing, but what the order as a whole means, and what other branches are about—how many opportunities they are finding of lending a hand—of doing good in quiet, simple ways, of being about our Father's business.

With this introduction, then, I may turn at once to the theme which I have chosen for my morning's discourse, the "Door of New Opportunity open to Educated Young Women in our Day."

That the opportunities offered to all young women in America in our generation are vastly greater than those offered to their mothers or grandmothers a generation or two generations ago, I suppose no intelligent person will deny. Our age is one of great progress in many ways; but in it all there is nothing more creditable or honorable or full of promise of good for the future, than in the advance that has been made in removing the unjust and cruel burdens that woman has had so long to bear, and lifting her up toward that equality of right and privilege with man, which ought always to have been hers. The work is not yet fully accomplished: there are yet burdens on her shoulders that she ought not to have to carry; there are yet unjust discriminations against her in law, in custom, in public opinion, which ought to be removed. Still, what has been achieved already, is cause for profound thanksgiving, and a ground for hope for the future.

America has always been a favored land for women, as compared with most other countries. Yet if our girls and young women of to-day, especially those who have such advan-

tages of education as fall to the young women of Ann Arbor, could realize how vastly superior are their privileges to those enjoyed by any young woman anywhere a century or even half a century ago, they would be grateful beyond the power of words to express, I think, that their lot has fallen in this favored age and land.

In the pioneer age of a country there can be, in the nature of things, only limited opportunities for education for either sex. But in the history of our land, exceptionally high in some respects as was the place we gave woman from the first, the earliest provisions for education which we made were for one sex only.

Public schools were established in New England within twenty-five years or so of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. And earlier still—within twenty years of the landing of the Pilgrims—steps had been taken towards the founding of Harvard College. But the public schools were for boys, not for girls, and Harvard College was for young men, not for young women. Nearly a century and a half passed away before we see public schools opened to girls. Hartford was a pioneer in this matter. It admitted girls to its schools in 1771,—five years before the beginning of the Revolutionary war.

True, there was a little done for the instruction of girls, all through the last century, by means of what were known as "Dame-Schools",—that is, schools of a very inferior order, in which women—often women who could themselves scarcely more than barely read, would gather a few girls together to teach them manners, and the alphabet, and enough beyond that to enable them to spell out the catechism, which they were required to commit to memory. But it is mere mockery to call this education. Charles Francis Adams tells us that during the first one hundred and fifty years of our colonial history, "the cultivation of the female mind was regarded with utter indifference." Mrs. Abigail Adams says in one of her letters that "it was fashionable to ridicule female learning."

It appears that while no provision was made for the instruction of women, they were sometimes arraigned for wearing "wide sleeves, lace tiffany, and such things," while "those given to scolding were condemned to sit publicly, with their tongues held in cleft sticks, or were thrice dipped from a ducking stool." Well does Miss Mary F. Eastman, commenting on this way of treating women, say, "It would have been better that their tongues had been trained by instruction to

becoming speech, or that they had been permitted to drink at the fountain of learning."

By the end of the eighteenth century somewhat better provisions had been made in most New England towns than those afforded by the old "Dame Schools" for instructing girls; but these provisions were still generally very limited and poor. In 1788 Northampton, one of the most intelligent communities in Massachusetts, and now the seat of Smith College for young women, voted "not to be at any expense for schooling girls." When public schools began to be established for girls, for a long time they were confined principally to the summer. In Newburyport the town graciously voted in 1792 that "during the summer months, when the boys have diminished, the master shall receive girls for instruction in grammar and reading, after the dismissal of the boys [in the afternoon] for an hour and a half." In 1803 we find the same town establishing four girl's schools, "to be kept six months in the year, from six to eight o'clock in the morning, and on Thursday afternoon." Thus the Misses were at least taught early rising, even if not much else.

In 1789, six years after the close of the Revolutionary war, Boston established "three reading and writing schools" open all the year round to boys, and from April to October open to girls. This seems to have been the first admission of girls in any manner to the "free schools" of that city.

Thus it was that school privileges of a very low order began to be provided for girls in various parts of New England during the latter part of the century preceding this; but it was a long way into our own century before girls were generally put upon an equality with boys, even as regards the most rudimentary instruction of the common schools. For example, in the State of Rhode Island girls did not go to the public schools at all until the year 1828. Gradually, however, the lower grades were opened to all, in the different New England states, and by degrees the time was extended during which girls might attend, until at last they were permitted everywhere to go the whole year through, the same as the boys.

In most other parts of the country the condition of things was even less favorable for girls than New England.

And when at last public school privileges in the lower grades were generally secured, it was *only* in the *lower* grades. The battle to win for girls and young women opportunities for *higher* education, had still to be continued right on, and is only partially won even now.

Female Seminaries, as they were called, but very limited in their range of studies, and designed only for the more favored class, were established here and there in New England and the middle states, during the last century. In the early part of this century these grew more numerous, and the work done in them improved. However, the scope of their instruction generally remained very narrow and inadequate. Public High Schools were generally closed to girls and young women up to about the middle of the present century—a single generation ago. At first, the doors of these were opened just a little, far enough to let girls in for hours when the boys were not present, for part of the year—as had been the case in the lower grades. But so eagerly did the girls crowd in, and so earnestly take up all the work allowed them, that gradually the doors were forced open wider and wider. Newburyport, Massachusetts, established a High School distinctly for girls in the year 1842; and Salem in 1845. Boston did not establish a permanent girls High School until 1852, almost two hundred years after she had established a Latin school for boys, and more than two hundred years after the founding of Harvard College for young men.

The High Schools once opened it could be only a question of time when other institutions of higher learning would open also.

Oberlin College was founded in Ohio in 1833, and women were admitted from the first. Mount Holyoke Seminary in Massachusetts was established in 1836, for the purpose of giving to young women opportunities for an education in advance of anything offered up to that time by any woman's school. In 1852 Antioch College was founded in Ohio, and its privileges offered to men and women alike. In 1862 Cornell University was established on the basis of co-education. Then followed a host of smaller colleges both in the East and the West, together with the great State Universities of Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas and others, nearly all adopting the principle of co-education.

Scarcely less important, in 1865 Matthew Vassar founded in Poughkeepsie, N. Y., a college for women—a real college—which has been followed since by Smith College, Wellesley and Bryn Mawr, all of high grade.

Finally, we have rising a new and unique class of institutions aiming to give to women a college training. They are popularly called “annexes”—that is, they are institutions not organically joined to, yet affiliated with, some of the old and

influential colleges for young men. Already we have at least three of these—the Harvard Annex, in Cambridge, Mass.; Barnard College, N. Y., the annex of Columbia; and Evelyn College, the annex of Princeton, in New Jersey.

Nor is this all. Side by side with this steady enlargement of the opportunities for education on the literary side, offered to young women, there has been a corresponding enlargement of opportunities for training in technical, practical and professional directions.

In the Normal Schools established in nearly all the States to train persons for the profession of teaching, there have been from the beginning more young women than young men. The art schools of the country are open to women and men alike. After a long effort one and another of the medical schools of the land have been opened to women, until now they may obtain as good instruction in medicine and surgery as is given to men. Business colleges and schools for type-writing and short-hand are open to both sexes alike. One of the most hopeful signs of the times in the educational field is found in the rapid multiplication of manual training schools, and industrial schools of various kinds, to give to girls and young women as well as to boys and young men, training of the eye and the hand, and to teach them sewing, cooking and many other industries, thus fitting them for the practical work of life.

Nor are advantages of an educational kind the only ones that have come to woman.

Her status before the law has been much raised and improved since this century came in—and especially within the past twenty or thirty years. I cannot stop to go into details, but must content myself with merely the statement that many inequalities and injustices under which she labored a generation or two ago, as a wife, as a daughter, as a mother, as a sister, as a wage earner, as a holder of property, as a manager of business, as a citizen, have been at least in past remedied, even though not a few still remain needing a remedy.

Perhaps in no way does the present contrast more favorably with the past than in the greater freedom accorded to woman as to the work she shall do, or the calling she shall follow in life. At the beginning of this century women had practically no choice. One calling was open to her,—scarcely more than one. That was the calling of the housekeeper,—the vocation which embraced all of that manifold work which found its place in the home of that time,—including not only

the ordinary housework of to-day, and the knitting for the family, and the making of the garments of the men as well as the women, but also the spinning and weaving necessary to make the cloth for the family. To nine women out of ten the kitchen was the world. In all but the rarest and most exceptional cases no career was possible to women except that of domestic labor. So narrow and monotonous was the average life of the female part of the population at that time, that when the factory system began to make its appearance in the Eastern States, thousands of young women and girls hailed as a boon the glimpse of life and the breaking up of the unendurable monotony of their kitchen prisons, obtained by going every day for twelve hours of continuous and severe labor in the mills.

What a change since then! Now, many scores of vocations are open to women. To-day a woman may choose her work for an hour or for a year, or her calling for life, almost as freely as may a man. Not quite all vocations that she might be glad to consider are yet open to her; and in many, perhaps I should say most, she yet is under the injustice of being compelled to receive less wages for the same work than is paid to a man. Yet compared with the past, her liberty and her privileges in the whole matter of choosing her work and shaping her life for herself, are very great and very precious. In place of the old bondage, a great freedom has come.

Think what it means that woman has become pre-eminently the teacher of the nation's children and youth. Last century it was not so. Then woman had not the opportunity to teach, and could not have taught if the opportunity had been given her, her ignorance was so great. Then man was the teacher everywhere. How changed is all this now! Now nearly all the primary and grammar schools of the land are taught by women. And up into the High School, and into the superintendent's place, and into the college she is steadily pressing her way. Why? Not because of favoritism; not because of political influence,—she has not that to help herself with as men have; but because she teaches so well.

And think what it means that woman is getting such a place in literature. It is less than fifty years since the door of literature was in any true sense opened to her; indeed it is less than twenty years since it was opened to her at all widely, for she could not enter literature on any equality at all with man until she had been given equal educational advantages with him. Yet in this brief time see the place she is taking.

There is hardly a daily paper now that does not have its woman writers—and often these are among the very best and ablest writers on the paper. Woman editors and proprietors of periodicals—dailies, weeklies and monthlies, in country and in city—are becoming common. Take up a number of one of our best magazines; often you will find half its articles written by women. Go to the great book publishers of the country and look over their lists of new books, and you will be surprised to see how many are from women's pens. In some important lines more than half. And these include some of the best books too in nearly every department of literature.

In one other direction I will ask you to notice the enlarging intellectual life of women. That is in the direction of home reading, home study, and such intellectual activity as comes to light in literary clubs and societies. The indications are that the women of the country are gaining upon, if they are not passing by, the men of the country as readers of valuable literature. This the librarians of our great public libraries notice. The female graduates from our high schools, take the country through, are several times more numerous than the male graduates. The students who take the popular Chautauqua courses all over the land are a majority of them women. Much of the best literary activity in all our towns and cities is found in the women's literary clubs of those places. Go to Chicago, and I do not think I exaggerate when I say that the Woman's Club there, with its three hundred members, is the first literary association of that city, in the quality, strength and range of its literary work, and in the influence it exerts. Go to Detroit and nearly as much can be said for the women there. Go to Kalamazoo and Grand Rapids and see the women's organizations that have been for years the very center and soul of the intellectual life of those cities,—with all the rest, establishing libraries and reading rooms and erecting library buildings in both places. Look about us here in Ann Arbor, and does any one doubt that by far the best intellectual work that is being done in this city outside of the University and High School, is being done by the women of the Tuesday Club and other women organizations?

Now, what do all these things mean? They mean that a new day, indeed, has come to women. They mean that privileges and opportunities are offered to you young women who are before me to-day, not only such as your mothers and grandmothers did not have, but such as only the boldest of them dared dream could ever come to woman. And yet these

magnificent opportunities and privileges are here. They are yours.

And now all this suggests some reflections—some reflections for the sake of which I have chosen this subject, and called your attention to the facts which I have been rehearsing in your hearing.

It is an old thought, but it is a true one, and as important as any thought that can come into human life, that privilege creates obligation. Jesus said, that from him to whom much has been given, much shall be required.

What are the young women of to-day, to whom these great privileges have come, going to do with them? Simply aggrandize themselves? Simply use them for their own personal and selfish ends? Simply employ them as the greedy money getter does his millions, to get other millions with, with no regard for the suffering world that turns pleading eyes to him for pity and help?

No, no, this must not be. It is for something better than this, that all the noble work has been done, and all the brave struggle has been carried on, that have resulted in these privileges and advantages which you to-day enjoy.

Others have labored, and you enter into their labor. But you must so enter in that the blessings shall not stop with you.

Some of the reflections suggested by the facts that have passed before us take the form of questions. I cannot mention all, but let me suggest some of the more earnest and pressing.

And first this: The splendid advantages of which I have been speaking, that have come to women, are mainly intellectual. The striking advance made by our age beyond the last generation or the last century is mainly an advance in knowledge. But can the inquiry fail to arise here: Is all this to stop with the intellectual? Can knowledge alone save the world? Are the women to whom all these colleges have opened their doors, and to whom all these educational and literary advantages have come, going to be content with mere intellectual culture? Or, are they going to use this only as a means, and press on beyond it to something still better, to that larger development which alone makes the real woman?—a development of the body to health, of the hands to beneficent skill, of the will to decision, of the social nature to purity and the spirit of helpfulness, of the heart to love and sympathy, of the conscience to habitual choice of the right and rejection of the wrong, of the religious nature to trust and worship. If

this be the goal toward which our educational and intellectual progress is leading woman, then has all it has cost been well spent. But if it falls any short of this, then we have little to be proud of or to rejoice over.

Another inquiry. There are some among us who are afraid of the higher education that is being given in our age to woman, lest it have an injurious effect on her domestic nature, and upon the home.

If there is any danger here we ought to tread very thoughtfully, for the home is so precious a product of our civilization that anything which threatens it may well awaken our solicitude.

Will the higher education prove a friend, or will it prove an enemy, to the home? I confess, I see the possibility of its proving an enemy—a thing which may grow to be hated by men, a destroyer of the domesticity of woman, a foe to marriage, a curse to children. Indeed this is what it will be if it makes women selfish, if it develops the intellect and neglects the moral nature, if it stimulates the brain and dries up the heart, if it cares only for the ornamental and neglects the practical in life.

Instead of producing any such results, however, it ought to prove the best friend to the home. No woman in all the world is so well qualified to lift up a home to its best as an educated woman, if her education be what it ought to be. There is nothing about her home that should not feel the magic of her enlarged knowledge. Pantry and parlor, nursery and library, alike, should be benefited by it. Her kitchen should be the model kitchen of the neighborhood. The food served in her dining-room should be the best cooked and the most healthful. The economy of her wardrobe should be the most intelligent and perfect. The hospitality of her home the most generous and beautiful. The hospitality of her home the home of many an educated woman it will be so. In the home of many an educated woman it is so now.

No woman in all this world can be so much to a husband, so helpful, so inspiring, so charming with charms that can never fade or pass away, as a woman of education and culture, so sure that the culture be large and true and deep—a culture of the whole nature, and not of a mere fragment.

No woman can be such a mother to children as the educated woman. All the knowledge she has, is wealth to pour into her children's lives. All the culture she possesses of mind and heart is seed of priceless worth which she shall plant in the deepest natures, to bear fruit in them forever. All the

intellectual and moral furnishing which she has gained will give her a just so much deeper and more enduring place in their regard and love and homage as long as they live.

But if the higher education is a friend to marriage, and to the home which marriage creates, it is also a friend, the truest ever found, to those women who never marry, and who therefore, in one way or another, must make homes for themselves. There is no greater curse to woman's life than that sentiment, which is in many minds, that a woman's life cannot be a success unless she marries. Do not misunderstand me. I would say no word against marriage, but everything for it, when it can be consummated under right conditions. But a hundred times better is it never to marry than to marry under wrong conditions. No woman's life a success unless she marries? Think of such lives as those of Louisa Alcott, Dorothea Dix, the Cary sisters, Prof. Maria Mitchell, Mary Somerville, Caroline Herschell, Frances Power Cobbe, Frances Willard. Are there any more successful or more beautiful lives known to the world than these, and such as these?

Ignorance is dependence; knowledge is independence. Ignorance must have a career marked out for it; knowledge can mark out a career for itself. I deny that a higher education of the truest kind leads away from marriage. I believe it is the best of all possible preparations for marriage. But where fitting opportunities for marriage do not come, or in cases where women desire, as many do, and honorably may, to live their own lives in their own way, and mark out independent careers for themselves, the higher education enables them to do this as otherwise they could not. The life of the cultured woman is rich in itself. With knowledge and training she is prepared for a career that may be beautiful, strong, useful, filled with many and blessed satisfactions. Let her not shrink at all from the idea of such a career, but be inspired by the thought of how rich and noble it may be.

Another thought. I have been speaking of the very great literary and educational advantages that have come to women in our day. But it should not be forgotten that these advantages do not come to all. The young women who can go to college are few; those who cannot are many. Indeed those who can get a higher education of any kind are really the few, while those who must go through life with little if any more knowledge of books than they can obtain from the common school, if even so much as that, are the many. In view of this fact, what should be the attitude of her to whom the

higher privileges have come? Surely it should be one of the utmost sympathy and helpfulness.

It lies largely with literary and college women to say whether the opportunities for culture that have come to them, shall be simply the heritage of a few favored ones, or whether they shall be extended more and more widely to all classes; whether these opportunities shall be confined to the wealthy, or at least to those with considerable means, or whether they shall be placed within the reach of the poorest. These matters are decided mainly by public sentiment. And the leaders of public sentiment on this subject must necessarily be, very largely, college men and college women. Even the public sentiment which you young men and young women who hear me to-day are making here in Ann Arbor on this subject, is having more effect than you are probably aware. It is opening the doors of the splendid advantages offered by this University, more and more widely to those who need it most,—the young men and women of the country of earnest character and high desires but of little pecuniary means,—or it is more and more closing the doors against such. It is worth while to remember that everything done to make life simple and natural here, and to keep dress plain, and expenses moderate, is a hand of helpfulness stretched out to worthy young men and women in every state in this union to make the path more clear before their feet leading to the higher education which they so long for. While everything done to create artificialities of life, or to bring in fashion, or to create distinctions between rich students and poor, or to add unnecessarily in any way to the expense of college life here, is a hand of selfishness and cruelty stretched out from ocean to ocean, to keep away young men and women who would be an honor to the University and to the world, and who deserve these privileges far more than some of us do.

All this at least indirectly suggests, that one of the grave problems of the future which educated women must help solve, if it is ever solved at all, is that of the continued tyranny of fashion. Shall fashion go on tyrannizing over human life, especially over woman's life, in the future, to the degree that it has done in the past? To think that this yoke of bondage is never to be broken, is intolerable. But if it is to be broken, by whom must it be done? Surely the leaders in this great cause of human emancipation must be educated women. What is their knowledge for, only to fit them to be leaders in the onward progress of the race?

This thought of woman as an emancipator and a social reformer, suggests her relation to that most pressing social and moral reform of our generation, the cause of temperance. Can any intelligent woman, or man either, doubt, that the most dangerous single enemy to-day to the American people, to our politics, to our social life, to our religion, to our young men, to our homes, to woman—is the saloon? Am I wrong in believing that it is to women, and primarily to educated women, that we must look for the ultimate destruction of the saloon? Women do not drink, therefore the saloon cannot throw its spell around them, and make them blind to its evils. Women are the mothers of the boys whom the saloon ruins; the wives of the men whom it destroys. On women its severest blows fall. It is cheering to see that women are already banded against it in an organization the strongest and most active that exists. I am sure that in them largely lies our hope. Oh, let not our educated women fail to be leaders here, in this most important, this most urgent moral reform that we have before us to-day, or are likely to have for a hundred years.

This brings me close to another subject of grave concern to society at large. I think it is becoming increasingly plain that educated women must take a very important part in the work of helping to bridge the chasm that exists between the rich and the poor, between capital and labor, if that chasm is ever to be bridged. Already the chasm is very wide and deep. And evidently it grows no narrower. A great many schemes have been devised to bridge it, but seemingly there is little promise in any of them. As Ruskin insists, what is needed above everything else, is "gentleness and justice." But Oh, it is so hard to get these! How these can be promoted is the great question. The rich man must be helped to learn that he is "his brother's keeper," and therefore that he must care for the poor. The poor man must be helped to form the habit of looking at matters from the standpoint of the rich, as well as from his own. How is this to be brought about? In effecting it, religion must have its part; the schools must have their part; the political economists, with their figures and their theories, must have their part; the labor leagues and associations of working men must have their part. But woman, too, must have her very influential and important part. The world has no other so eloquent pleader for gentleness and justice as woman. If it is true that she has unequaled power to create false and cruel social distinctions, and to alienate class from class by fashion and pride, it is still more

deeply true that she has unequalled skill and power to remove social distinctions that are false and wrong, and to draw men together by the might of her divine sympathy and love. To this great work she must consecrate herself more earnestly than ever she has done. And the leaders in the holy consecration should be our women of highest culture and largest influence.

A single other thought. I am sure there is a great work for educated women to do for *religion*. I do not mean simply in discharging the ordinary duties that religion lays upon them: that is a matter of course: but I mean something beyond that. I mean the work—perhaps the most important of a strictly religious kind, that now waits to be done in the Christian world—of removing and putting away out of sight the things that divide the Christian church into antagonistic sects, the things that keep the followers of Christ from being a united, loving, and co-operating brotherhood.

Jesus prayed that his followers might be one. How great is the pity and shame, that the fulfilment of this prayer is so long delayed! What causes the delay? What is it that separates between sect and sect, between church and church? It is dogmas. It is creeds. But whence come these creeds and dogmas? From Christ? No. From humanity? No. They come from a *part* of humanity—from a *fragment*—from the masculine half, with the feminine half left out. They come from the cold brains of schoolmen and celibates, warmed by no touch of woman's gentler and more loving nature. The creeds of Christendom are all man-made things, and hence are hard, logical, stern, unsympathetic, speculative, remote from life,—unlovely characteristics which always tend to appear in man and his work whenever he separates himself from woman's life and love. Such creeds can never do anything else but divide the Christian church. The elements which woman would have contributed are wanting in them—namely, love, tenderness, sympathy. These are eternally uniting elements. I do not wonder that Oliver Wendell Holmes writes:

"Would that the heart of woman warmed our creeds!
Not from the sad-eyed hermit's lonely cell,
Not from the conclave where the holy men
Glare on each other, as with angry eyes
They battle for God's glory and their own,
Till, sick of wordy strife, a show of hands
Fixes the faith of ages yet unborn,—
Ah, not from these the listening soul can hear
The Father's voice that speaks itself divine!
Love must be still our Master; till we learn
What he can teach us of a woman's heart,
We know not His whose love embraces all."

Love is woman's gift to religion, as it is pre-eminently her gift to the world. As woman's influence grows in all the churches, the love element is certain to grow. And as love comes forward into the foreground, dogmas that have in them no love, but only cruelty, will tend more and more to pass away; and then the followers of Christ of all names, and of no name, will begin at last to draw together, as brothers. But all this must be largely woman's work. It will come when woman gets her true place—as all these new opportunities for intelligence that are coming to her are helping her to get it—by man's side,—by his side not alone in the pew but in the pulpit, not alone in the prayer meeting but in the ecclesiastical council. That day is slowly approaching. The world's steady progress toward the light insures its arrival sooner or later. When it comes, then, but I believe not before, may we look for the fulfilment of the Master's prayer that all his followers *may be one*.

And now, in closing, a single earnest personal word: Oh young woman, to whom such priceless privileges and opportunities as we have been considering to-day, have come, and therefore whose power in society wherever you are in future years will be so great, let me beg of you to go forth to your work and your opportunities remembering that everywhere in this world privilege creates obligation; remembering that all this good that has come to you is not for yourselves alone, but for society, for mankind, and especially for such of your sisters as are less privileged than you. Never allow yourselves, for one moment, to forget that you are daughters of the King; and that you must be ever about the King's business, of making the world bright and good and beautiful for Him, and for all his children. Then the door of opportunity that has opened to you, so much larger than the women of the generations before you knew, will not have opened in vain.

Young ladies of the beautiful order of the King's Daughters, you have placed before all our eyes to-day the significant motto of your organization, "IN HIS NAME." But why has that motto its significance? Why live and labor in *his* name rather than any other? Because in all the world's history no other name is such a synonym of consecration to duty, and to loving, self-forgetting service of humanity.

Go forth, then, to live your lives, to use your education, to employ all the splendid opportunities and privileges which have come to you, and in the future shall come, in the name, that is, in the *spirit*, of *Christ*. Thus you will achieve the best success, and reap the best rewards, that earth or heaven can

bestow. While you live all that know you shall bless you, and when you are dead multitudes, even of those whom you know not, will speak your name with love and reverence, and thank God for your life. And finally, in God's blessed heaven, that most beautiful of all possible crowns shall be yours, which awaits the brow of those who have lived, not for themselves, but to do good.



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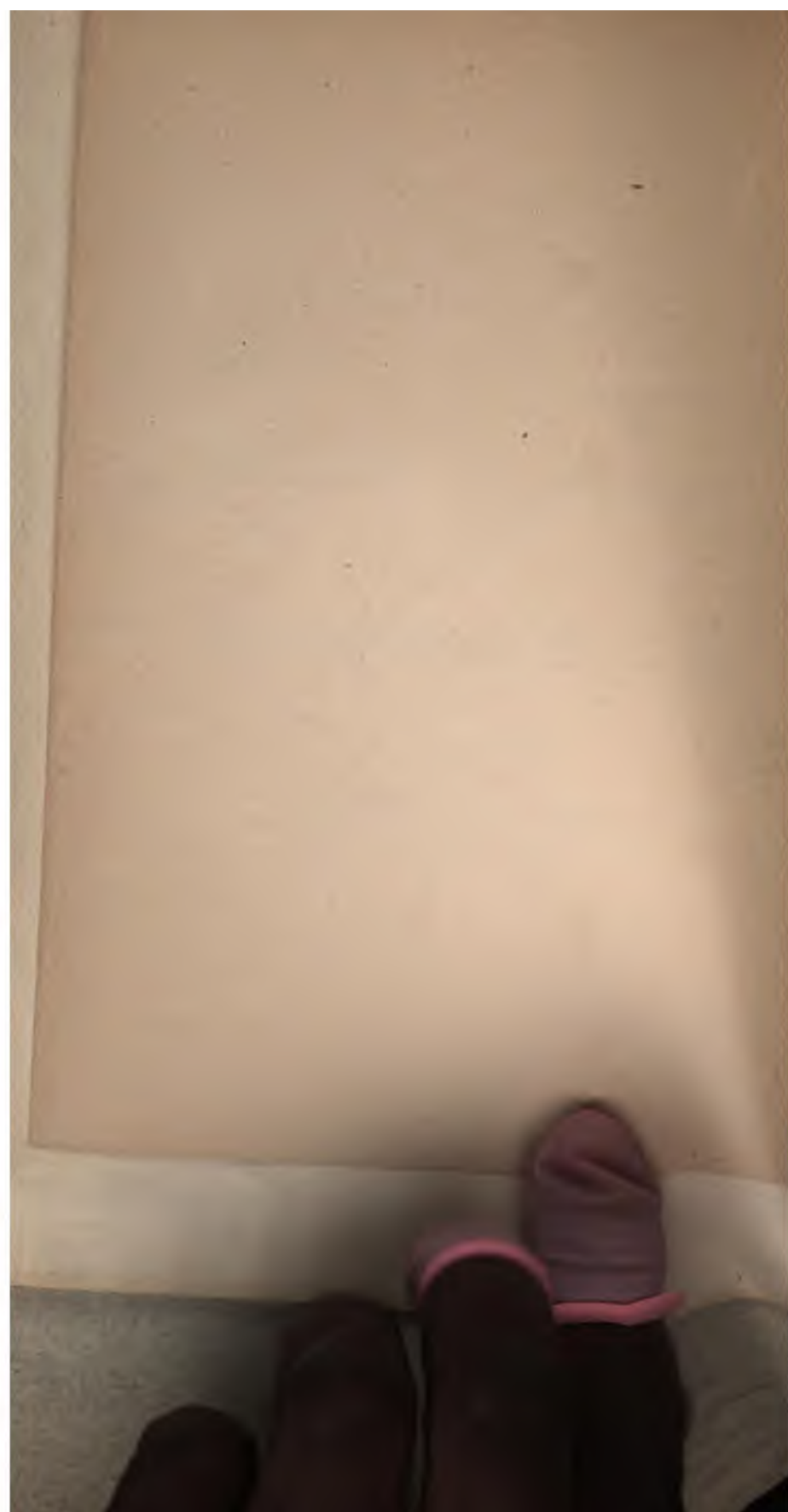


TWO SERMONS.

FALSE AND TRUE LIBERALISM.

THE HIGHER CONCEPTION OF GOD.

BY REV. J. T. SUNDERLAND,
MINISTER OF THE UNITARIAN CHURCH, ANN ARBOR, MICH.



TRUE AND FALSE LIBERALISM.

"The perfect law of liberty." *St. James.*

"Free, yet not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God." *St. Paul.*

"Be as free, be as liberal, be as courageous as you will; but be religious because you are liberal; be devout because you are free; be pure because you are bold; cast away the works of darkness because you are children of the light." *Dean Stanley* (to the young men of Oxford.)

The words "liberal," "liberality" and "liberalism" are among the largest, best and noblest words we have in our language; but they are also among the most abused.

Particularly are they misapplied, misappropriated and abused strangely in connection with religion.

Make inquiry through the land for religious liberals, I mean for persons *called* or *claiming* to be religious liberals, and whom will you find? You will find about the most motley collection of people that you can imagine. The kinds of religion they believe in will range all the way from orthodoxy of a rather diluted type, to pure theism, and from that again off to a thousand eccentricities of radicalism and individualism. Nevertheless they all call themselves liberals, because they have departed more or less widely from the theological teachings of the dominant churches. Indeed, you will find rising up in response to your call for religious liberals many who do not believe in religion at all—as they will not be slow to tell you; many who declare that religion is merely superstition, or priest-craft, which enlightened people (like themselves) have got beyond. What the world wants now, to bring the golden age,

is to have religion replaced by science, and churches by theatres and lyceums. Thus your collection of religious liberals you will find to contain the most incongruous elements, and extremes the most diverse. Many of the best people of all our communities will be in it; so will some of the worst. Men and women of highest intelligence will be in it; so will men and women of the densest ignorance. Men and women of broad views, large sympathies, nobly progressive ideas, will appear in its ranks; so will men and women of the narrowest views, the most restricted sympathies, and the crudest prejudices and bigotries.

Such great English Broad Churchmen as Dean Stanley and Prof. Jowett, and Frederick Denison Maurice, and Frederick W. Robertson, and Charles Kingsley, and such American Broad Churchmen as Phillips Brooks and Heber Newton will be in your company; and rightfully, for certainly these men are religious liberals if any men of our modern times are. So also will be in it such brave thinkers and broad minded preachers as Roger Williams the Baptist; and Bushnell the Congregationalist; and Robertson Smith the Presbyterian; and Whittier the Quaker; and Dr. Thomas the Methodist. So will Channing the Unitarian be in it; for who has done more this century to promote liberality and breadth in religious thinking than Channing? So will Theodore Parker be there—that heroic liberal; so will Emerson, that sublime, gentle, seraphic liberal; so will Carlyle, that Thor-hammer among liberals. So will rise up and come forward to take a place among your great company, the Free Religionists of this country, with Francis E. Abbott and Wm. J. Potter at their head; and surely nobody could deny their right to come. But not yet can we stop. As not less strenuously claiming a right to stand in the ranks of liberals, will appear Frederick Harrison and a band of Positivists with him; and Andrew Jackson Davis, and Giles B. Stebbins with a great company of Spiritualists by their sides; and Herbert Spencer with a

respectable body of Agnostics by his side ; and the editors of the Boston Investigator with their following of Atheists ; and Haeckel and B. F. Underwood and their fellow Materialists ; and Ingersoll with his multitude ; and D. M. Bennett with his crowd.

Thus your great company of persons, all claiming to be religious liberals, will range all the way from Christian to Non-Christian, and even violent Anti-Christian ; from Theist to Atheist ; from Spiritualist to Materialist ; from most ardent and earnest believers in and upholders of religion and churches, to sneerers and mockers at religion, and violent denouncers of churches ; from real liberals, worthy the name, to men as far removed from genuine liberality in their views of truth, and in their methods of judging others as darkness is from light.

And what is worst of all, the combative, narrow-minded men, whose whole ambition is iconoclasm, and who are liberal in nothing only in the quantity of vituperation which they hurl at churches, preachers and religion, are very commonly the loudest in their claim of being liberals ; while the real liberals, of genuine intelligence, and breadth of view, and charity towards others, whose aim is constructive rather than destructive, and who are working thoughtfully to build up a better religion instead of to tear down what religion there is in the world—these are likely to be comparatively quiet and retiring. Thus, often the loud-voiced iconoclasts and destructionists come to be the class of men that get to be most known in our communities as Liberals ; and men learn, unfortunately, when liberalism is spoken of, to think first of these men as its representatives. Thus, the cause of real liberality in religion is put in a false light, and seriously hurt.

You all know such men—such reckless destructionists—such extremists. They are very commonly the men in our communities who clamor for larger freedom, more liberty, while possessed often, seemingly, of strangely little ability to discriminate between liberty and license. They are the men who never cease vociferating in behalf of tolerance, while, alas ! few persons are

so intolerant as they, of the views of others who differ from them. They are the men who declare, as one of them did recently in public, that Thomas Paine was a greater man than Jesus Christ; and, as for Edison, the inventor, he had done a great deal more to benefit the world than Jesus had ever done. They are the men who condemn the Bible in the most sweeping and wholesale manner, while only too commonly their own ignorance of the volume they condemn—its origin, history, real character and influence in the world—would be amusing were it not so pitiful. They are the men who declare that the Bible should be suppressed as an obscene book (because of its indelicacies, wholly incident to the age that produced it), while at the same time they are too often the stoutest defenders and justifiers of the pruriency or lust or brazenfaced foulness of an Oscar Wilde, or a Swinburne, or a Walt Whitman. They are the men who are scandalized at the reading of the New Testament, or at prayers, in the public schools, but seem often to be singularly little scandalized at free love, or the sending of obscene publications through the mails. All these men claim for themselves the name of liberals; and the public, which is not very discriminating in such things, takes them at their word, and falls easily into the mistake of supposing that they are true representatives of religious liberalism in the land. And thus the cause of real liberality is made to bleed.

It will not be irrelevant if I say that this is one of the most serious difficulties that Unitarianism has to contend with in this country. Everywhere so many people identify it in their thought with mere destructionism, and anti-religion, if not moral license! Let a Unitarian church start in any place and the so-called Liberals of all classes—many of them having no higher conception of liberalism than enmity to orthodoxy, flock to the new organization. Of course, as soon as the mere non-religionists and destructionists find their mistake, and discover that the new church means God, and means worship, and means

liberty, but liberty under law and never license, and means hope of immortality, and means not overthrow of religion in any sense, but promotion of religion—only, promotion of it in enlightened, rationalized and purified forms,—then these non-religionists and anti-religionists take their departure. But their even temporary identification with the new church has done something to strengthen the impression in the community that the church stands for the same kind of things that they stand for. And it takes time and patience and a great deal of hard work to correct the impression. It is the commonest of occurrences, particularly in the West, for persons who are essentially Unitarian in their convictions, on moving into a place where there is a Unitarian church, to stand aloof from it, and even connect themselves with churches with whose doctrinal positions they are not in sympathy, because of their misunderstanding of us, and their mistaken identification of Unitarianism with mere iconoclastic and irreligious so-called “liberalism.”

Thus, we see, that there is hardly anything so important, if there is to be any real religious progress in this country, as some healthy inquiry as to what real liberalism in religion is, and some blowing away of fog, and some drawing of lines in the public thought, between men and women who merely call themselves liberal, but are really full of ignorance and prejudice and uncharitableness toward others, and men and women who are large-minded, intelligent, able to put themselves in others' places, and genuinely progressive.

Who are liberals? What is liberalism, or liberality, in religion? As the words are now used all around us, they cover, as we have seen, the widest range of meaning; and, including so much, really signify nothing. A classification that puts together Emerson and Bennett, Channing and Ingersoll, Whitier and Walt Whitman, Frederick Robertson and Charles Bradlaugh, really is not a classification at all, but a conglomeration.

I suppose the only definition that can possibly be formed for the



word liberal which will cover all the different kinds of people who in this country claim the name, is the purely negative one of "persons who do not believe the theological system of orthodoxy." But a negative definition of this kind is no definition at all. What is there about not believing in orthodoxy that insures that a man will be in any true sense liberal? No doubt a non-believer in orthodoxy may be genuinely liberal. But so also may a non-believer in orthodoxy be a dreadful bigot; and a bigot who claims to be liberal is the worst kind of a bigot.

The word liberal is a noble word. Yet it is so much abused, and so often misappropriated that many liberal people shrink from using it. It ought to be an honor to a man to call him a liberal; and it is, if you mean by it what ought to be meant. But to call one a liberal in a sweeping way, without definition or discrimination, is simply to thrust him into the company of men of one idea, cranks and extremists of the worst type. Some real liberals say, "The name is so much abused let us give it up." But it is a question if anything would be gained by this. Any other name chosen would be abused in the same way. Every noble word is appropriated to a greater or less extent by persons who have no right to it.

The word "radical" is a striking illustration of this. A radical, properly speaking, is a root man,—a man who tries to trace all things to their root, their origin, their foundation, and so be thorough-going and sure in all his knowledge and opinions. And radical, therefore, ought to be an honorable title for any man. But as a fact it is often appropriated by men whose only care about roots seems to be to get hold of everything that is time honored and regarded by others as sacred, and root it up.

In the same way the great word "progress" is very widely appropriated by men of all sorts of isms, whose thought is anything but genuinely progressive. Every man who has a notion differing from that of the people generally, thinks it is an *advance* notion, whereas it is quite as likely to be

retrograde. When Mr. Miln, of Chicago, turned agnostic, he was spoken of by some as having reached too *advanced* a position for Unity church. I do not think a loss of belief in God and hope of immortality should be called an *advanced* position, but a sad and dreary *retrograde*. When we call mere motion advance, and especially when we call a giving up of the soul's highest faiths an advance, we are confusing language, and making it impossible to talk intelligibly about highest and noblest things. It is marvelous how easily people are duped with the notion that mere motion is progress, or that getting away from the common view is going forward to a more advanced view. A great deal of the so-called progress which narrow-minded, loud-voiced men everywhere shout for, is anything in the world but progress. It leads not in the direction of larger truth or higher civilization but in the exactly opposite direction.

Nor is it less true of the noble word "liberty." "Oh liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!" And if we chose to go on, we should find that there was no end to the words which men have misappropriated and abused. If we resolved to throw away all such words we should not have a good or high or noble word in the language left.

No, we need not shrink from using the word liberal, or from inscribing it plainly upon our banners where all can see it. Our only care need be to make ourselves so really liberal as not to belie our name.

But what is it to be a liberal? In attempting to answer, it very soon becomes plain that it is *not* certain things which are very often mistaken for liberalism.

First. It is not license. Liberality and license are no more the same than are love and lust the same. Many persons, however, have taken the name liberalism as a cloak to cover most unjustifiable license, and thus brought unmerited disgrace upon the liberal name. But this only makes it the more important that we who believe in liberty but not in license should do what we can to

draw the line, and while we express our approbation of the one, with no less emphasis and decision express our disapprobation of the other.

The true liberal believes in liberty, but liberty within law, and more complete and perfect because within law. He believes in liberty not as an end but as a means—and as a means whereby to reach not lower but higher ends of life. He sees that bondage of all kinds, whether political or mental, holds men and nations stationary—keeps them from rising and going forward to better things. Hence he would destroy bondage of body and mind, and make men free, free so that—not so that they may plunge downward in vice and lust and crime—but free so that they may rise to the highest wisdom and virtue and consequent happiness that beckon to them from above. The true liberal is the man who believes in liberty as the method by which men have to rise to all highest and divinest things attainable in this life. But ever the high and divine things are the end, and the liberty is only a good as it leads up to them. As soon as it begins to lead downward, it straightway becomes license, and is henceforth a curse.

Secondly. If liberality is not license, *neither is it indifference.* Here a great many make a mistake—and a mistake almost as fatal as the other. The difference between the liberal and the indifferent is this: A man who is genuinely liberal is liberal from conviction. The man who is indifferent is indifferent from lack of conviction. Liberality is the result of belief—belief in higher and truer and larger things. Indifference is the result of want of belief in anything. The two classes of men are often mistaken for each other, but they are not the same. We often take it for granted that when men lose their faith in orthodoxy, they become liberal. But this is not necessarily the case at all. Men may be neither orthodox nor liberal, but mere indifferents. And that is exactly the condition that multitudes of people are in all around us. They are negative; they have let go the old, but they have not grasped any higher and larger and nobler new.



The denials incident to liberalism, they like ; but the affirmations—the real constructive thought—the religion—of the liberal, they care as little for as they do for the theology or religion of orthodoxy. As another has truly said, “They will go to hear Ingersoll ridicule the popular theology, laugh with him at its inhumanities and defects, applaud his somewhat coarse and easy wit, and then send their children to the nearest church on the following Sunday, to be taught what they have joined in ridiculing the week before. They call upon the representative of one church as soon as upon another for the marriage ceremony or the funeral discourse.”* Shall we call such men liberals? We are so shortsighted and careless as thus to call them, sometimes. But it is incorrect and unjust. They are not liberals, and we ought not to hurt the liberal cause by identifying it in any way with such men. “They are simply indifferents. They support no ideas. The cause of religious truth owes nothing to them. They are negative, not positive. Belief implies some positive attitude of mind. Really to espouse liberal views in religion—larger views of God and the divine government ; of the soul, its nature and destiny,—is to love those views, to feel their value, to stand up for them, to contribute to their spread. It is more than a falling away from a traditional orthodoxy. It is rising into a new and nobler belief.”

Thirdly. True liberalism is not *scorn or contempt*, or anything which contains even as an ingredient, scorn or contempt, *for any honest, earnest belief, sincerely held by any human being.*

If the lawless and the indifferent are sometimes ignorantly or carelessly classed with the liberal, so are also, sometimes, those who ridicule and scoff at the beliefs of the conservative and the unprogressive. But such scorners or scoffers are *not* liberals. They may have beliefs in considerable measure the same as those held by liberals. But in that which is everywhere deeper

*Rev. F. L. Hosmer, in *Unity*.

than belief and more than belief, viz., in the *spirit* that actuates them, they are not liberals, they are illiberals. Ridicule is always an illiberal thing. There can be no genuine spirit of liberality in scorn. Liberality sympathizes; liberality appreciates; liberality puts itself in another's place, and tries to look at things from that other's stand-point and judge from his stand-point. I do not mean to say that liberality always approves. It does not always approve. It sometimes condemns. But when it disapproves, it does so with sorrow, not with delight. When it condemns, it condemns not with scorn, but with pity and tenderness. That is always and everywhere the spirit of real liberality. I repeat, the true liberal never treats with contempt or ridicule any honest, earnest belief sincerely cherished by any human being.

Fourthly. The true liberal will not be, as to his ultimate aims, a destroyer, but a *builder*. If he destroys he will destroy, as nature does, to build again and to build better. He *will* destroy. But he will destroy in faith and love—looking forward to the better things for the sake of which he destroys. He sees that no field of wheat is ever sown until the previous weeds or other noxious growths upon the land are first overturned by the hard ploughshare. But the ploughing is justifiable because of the harvest that it means by and by. So the liberal works, making vigorous use of the iron ploughshare of truth in its time and place, to tear up soil of old beliefs often, but ever not with love of destruction, or with ultimate purpose of destruction, but for man's larger good, prompted by faith in truth, and love of humanity.

Still again. The true liberal *will see good in other forms of religion besides his own*. He will be able to see that every one of the Christian sects has a great deal of truth in its teaching, and a made up for the most part of good, honest, earnest, and noble motives. He will be able to see that the most dark and gloomy dogmas, even the worst dogmas of Calvinism, have a "seed of good" in their influence, while it

has been bad enough, has not been wholly bad. Somehow out of the soil of a Calvinism in its severest forms, some of the noblest men and noblest peoples of the modern world have sprung. No doctrine that gets and keeps a widespread and enduring sway over human minds and hearts can be wholly untrue or wholly evil. The true liberal will always bear this in mind, and will judge men and events and religions and doctrines in the light of it. Thus he will be *charitable*, toward the Calvinist and the Arminian, and the Jew and the Buddhist, and Pope Leo and Dr. Patton and Mr. Moody—not saying that all are equally good or that all teach doctrines of equal truth—but recognizing what good there is in each, and separating between the doctrine taught and the man who teaches it.

Finally. The true liberal will be *very slow to say that any body of men and women who hold to views different from his*—no matter how bad the views may seem to him—*are insincere or hypocritical.* He will realize that his views seem as bad to the Evangelical as those of the Evangelical do to him. But his own he knows he holds with honesty and sincerity. Why, then, may not he believe that his Evangelical neighbor holds *his* views in a similar honest and sincere, even if not particularly intelligent, way?

There is a class of so-called liberals that perpetually make sweeping charges that the orthodox denominations know better than they say, and don't believe what they preach. But plainly he lacks in liberality who judges others in any such wholesale, uncharitable, and unjustifiable manner as that. Doubtless there are hypocrites and pretenders in all denominations, and also outside all. And doubtless, too, the condition of things now existing in the Christian world puts a pressure upon many persons to be untruthful, by making it for their interest, socially and otherwise, to profess to believe what they do not believe. Nevertheless, we may be certain that the mass of people, both inside the churches and outside, are not hypocrites or pretenders, but honest

and sincere. They may be mistaken; but the great majority mean to do right, and think they have the truth.

Is the true liberal ever to be found in an orthodox church? Yes, I have no doubt of it. Is he ever soundly "orthodox" in his religious opinions? That, perhaps, is a little like asking if a white object is ever black, or a blue, green. I think genuine "orthodoxy," as defined by the creeds and standards, rests upon an essentially illiberal basis, and comprises doctrines and beliefs which no man can intelligently and honestly hold without being in important respects bigoted and narrow. Nevertheless, I think there are a great many people in orthodox churches all about us, believing themselves to be truly orthodox, who manifest a great deal of very noble and beautiful liberality—and some of them compared with some so-called liberals I fear would take the palm. And yet in saying this, I do not say that orthodoxy tends to make men liberal. Rather as a theology it tends to the opposite; or else all the history of Christendom is a lie.

Nor in saying what I have just said do I affirm that the religious principles of the Unitarian or the Rational Christian do not tend to make him liberal. They certainly do so tend, as history plainly proves. In the nature of the case they must so tend, for the very first principle with him is, freedom to think, freedom to judge, and respect for others in their honestly formed opinions.

Will the true liberal be brave? He will be as brave as he is large-hearted and large-minded. He will be brave *because* he is large-hearted and large-minded. He will be brave because he loves truth so well. Cowardice is poor material to make a liberal of. Only a brave man will dare to break (without the aid of spite or spunk or brag) with established forms of religion, and with old bigotries and prejudices. Still less will any but a brave man dare resist the temptation to go to an extreme in his break with the old; dare withstand the crowd of breakers who rush off into violence and denunciation and wild extravagance; dare to refuse to condemn dogmatism with dogmatism; dare to stand up

is too narrow and one-sided and prejudiced. As between a Dean Stanley, or a Phillips Brooks, or a Heber Newton and an Ingersoll, and certainly as between a Freeman Clarke, or an Edward Everett Hale and an Ingersoll, I think few thoughtful men can even question for a moment which is the more broadly and truly liberal.

No, the thing to be afraid of everywhere, is not liberality, but illiberality. Nobody is ever too liberal; as we see as soon as we come to understand by the word the high noble thing that we ought to understand by it. Men learn to love the genuine liberal wherever he goes. They cannot help it, for all his work and words tend to carry the world forward into a better day, and to make men more truly brothers.

We, as a congregation, worshipping within these walls, call ourselves religious liberals. The question that concerns us is, Are we the genuine, or only the ungentine? I hope we are the genuine. If not, we must be.

Oh, to learn true liberality of Channing! Oh, to learn it of Stanley and Robertson! Oh, to learn of Jesus! Oh, to be as broad and progressive and charitable as truth and love! Oh, to be truly Christian! Oh, to be brothers of one another; disciples of him who went about doing good; children of Him "who maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth his rain on the just and on the unjust!" Then shall we be liberal indeed—with a liberality that will be a joy to ourselves, and sunshine and rain to fertilize the world.

Friends and Brothers, I close with the noble words of Dean Stanley, with which I began: "Be as free, be as liberal, be as courageous as you will; but be religious because you are liberal; be devout because you are free; be pure because you are bold; cast away the works of darkness, because you are the children of the light."

THE HIGHER CONCEPTION OF GOD.

"God is a Spirit (correct translation, 'God is Spirit') and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." John 4:24.

What do we mean, or, perhaps better, what ought we to mean, when we use the word "God"? I think it is plain that a higher, larger, more reasonable conception of God, is slowly making its way into the more intelligent thought of our time. What is that higher conception?

Men are very likely to forget that the thought of God, like all other great thoughts, is an evolution; and hence in view of certain low and unworthy conceptions of the Deity which are entertained around them, or which, perhaps, they were themselves taught in their childhood, we hear them sometimes saying hastily, that they do not believe in God, when the thing they really mean is, they do not believe in such or such a *crude* or *childish* or *unreasonable conception* of God.

All words which stand for great and high realities have to grow into their significance with time; and new and larger meanings have to be given to them to accommodate men's growing thought and widening experience. Science is such a word. Art is another. Home is another. Civilization is another. Sky and star and sun are others. Religion and God are others. These words were all at first very bare and meager—meaning little, because the things for which they stood men had as yet arrived at only very poor and low conceptions of. All the science there was in the world for many long ages was only of the crudest kind; therefore the name that stood for it could not possibly mean much to men. So, art was long very rough and rude, hence the name art for a long time could not be very significant. And homes were poor, hence the name home could not be very rich in asso-

ciation. And the starry heavens were not understood, and hence using the name star did not awaken any very grand thoughts. And civilization, as men experienced it in early ages was comparatively barren, hence the name civilization could mean only a very little. Not until time had elapsed, and all these things had grown to be understood by men to be great, could the names by which they were known contain any great wealth of meaning. But as the ages went on, and human experience widened and deepened, and science and art grew, and homes became better, and civilization advanced, and men found out that the stars were not sparks of fire but great worlds, all the words that stood for these things grew and grew in significance until they became at last the great words which we find them to-day.

Exactly the same is true with the name "God." Now it is a most significant name. But at first it was comparatively insignificant. Its meaning was meager and poor. But it has grown with man's knowledge of the universe, with man's power of thought, with man's moral advance, until it has become the great and peerless name it is. And it will grow to have larger and nobler meaning still in future ages as mankind advance.

A man of some eminence once said to me, "People ask me if I believe in God. I answer them, Yes, I do, and No, I do not. No, I do not, if you mean the God of the revivalist and the Calvinist. Yes, I do, if you mean the God of reason and intelligence and the Sermon on the Mount." Many persons are branded atheists who are only atheists as regards certain low conceptions of God. They deny that any God exists with such or such attributes, of cruelty or brutality or limitation. But in view of enlightened, philosophic, reasonable, noble conceptions of Deity, they do not deny the divine existence. It is a curious fact that almost all classes of believers in God have been called atheists by classes whose conception of God has been different, and especially that almost all religious reformers and men who have held up before their fellows ideas of Deity more lofty and pure than those com-

monly prevalent in their time, have had to bear the reproach of atheism. Refusing to represent the Deity in the same manner in which he had been commonly represented, they were declared not to believe in God at all. The heathen nations around about used to call the ancient Jews atheists, because they did not believe in any God that could be represented by any image or material object. And in the early days of Christianity the Greeks and Romans heaped the reproach of atheism upon the Christians, because they would not accept or acknowledge the gods and goddesses of Greece and Rome.

In the same way in our modern times, any scientific theory that arises, which interferes with the traditional or commonly received views of God, is likely to be declared at once by religious people to be atheistical, even if really its effect is not to weaken the evidence of God's existence at all, but instead to give men nobler conceptions of Deity. Well-known examples of this appear in the doctrines of geology and evolution. Fifty years ago, when the science of geology sprung into being, and then later, only twenty years or so ago, when Darwinism came forward prominently to notice, a great cry was raised, "The new doctrine is atheistical; it leaves no room for belief in God." But the truth was, it only disturbed narrow views of God to give men broader, irrational views to give more rational.

Let me state with some definiteness what kind of a God can no longer be believed in, since Copernicus and Galileo, and Lyell, and Kant, and Emerson, and especially Darwin have lived and written.

First. It is impossible for a world into which our modern science has come, ever again to believe in any such gods and goddesses as those of the ancient classical nations. The Greek mythology has in it elements of great beauty and fascination. The world will never get tired of reading about it, and of using it as material for poetry and art. But it can never again be conceived of as anything else than a world of the imagination. Con-

sidered as actual existences, "great Pan is dead," the dryads are gone from the streams, the fauns from the wood, the nymphs from the sea, Apollo from the sun, Jupiter from Olympus. All these live in poetry, and always will; but not in fact. Men believe in them as creatures of the fancy, but not as realities, and never can again unless civilization shall go backward.

Secondly. Quite as impossible is it for a world of growing intelligence ever again to believe in the anthropomorphic Jehovah of the ancient Jews. The Jehovah of the earlier Judaism was a tribal God, caring for one little handful of the people of the world, and not for the rest. So narrow a conception of God as that is inadmissible any longer. The Jewish Jehovah is represented in certain parts of the Old Testament as walking in a certain garden at the cool of the day; as having to come down from heaven to earth in order to see what was going on among men; as getting weary and resting; as partaking of a repast with one of the patriarchs; as making the sun stand still to allow a half savage chieftain and his band to make a little more thorough slaughter of a hostile band; as creating the world in six days; as drowning it with a universal flood, because it was so wicked, and starting again to populate it from one family some 4000 years, or not much more than that, ago. It is easy for any intelligent and unprejudiced mind to see that a conception of God which accepts all these legends as facts, is almost as much outgrown in a scientific, freely thinking age like ours, as is that condition and stage of mental development, which accepted the Greek mythology as real.

Thirdly. The growing intelligence and enlarging humanity of our modern world make it impossible longer to believe in the Calvinistic God of 200 years ago. The God of Calvinism creates the first man and woman of the race innocent, but inexperienced as children; puts them in a Garden, hangs the everlasting weal or ruin of not only themselves but all their posterity upon their ability to resist the temptation to eat delicious fruit which was

placed before them, when the temptation was allowed to be urged by all the wiles of the devil himself. Then, because these two utterly inexperienced children (for they were no better than children), who did not know good from evil, yielded to the temptation and ate the fruit, this same Calvinistic God doomed to a hell of unutterable and eternal torments, the whole race of men except such a chosen few as he had from all eternity elected and foreordained to be saved. This, in bare exact language, is the God of the Calvinist—has been everywhere ever since Calvinism came into existence, and is still wherever real Calvinism continues to hold sway.

But a single moment's thought is enough to show that such a God cannot endure the light of a thoughtful, rational, humane age like ours. As ferocious beasts of the forests which prowl about in the darkness betake themselves to their lairs when the morning comes, so this conception of a cruel and brutal deity, tends to shrink away and hide itself before the rising sun of our great age of science and philanthropy and free thought.

Finally, our new and higher conception rejects altogether a localized or limited God, or a God removed outside or separated from the universe.

The idea that has been largely entertained in the past, and the idea held by many still is, that God somehow has a body like a man's; that he is in one place; that he isn't here in this room and everywhere that a flower blossoms, or a bird sings, or a heart throbs, but that he is up in some far away heaven, sitting on a throne there, as an earthly king sits on a visible throne, and from that far away throne rules the world, much as the British queen is supposed to rule her distant Indian Empire from her seat in London. I say the idea of God that has been popularly entertained in the past, and that may still perhaps be called the common one, is about that. God is localized; he somehow has a body more or less like a man's; he is outside and separate from the world. But all this, science, and philosophy, and our modern

thought are more and more clearly and emphatically declaring cannot be. Such conceptions are crude and childish and inadequate, and must pass away. And their staying here, when they ought to be gone, is what, more than almost anything else, tends to produce atheism to-day, among our thinking classes. The intelligent student of modern science cannot possibly any longer believe in such a God. So long, therefore, as religion has no other kind of God than this to present, what wonder if many men find themselves in a place where they see nothing else to say only that they do not believe in God at all?

And now, having tried to make clear what kind of a God cannot longer be believed in, since Copernicus and Newton and Kant and Darwin have lived and written, let me in the time that still remains try to trace, at least in a general way, some of the more important characteristics of the God who can and will be believed in—that is, the new and higher conception of Deity which must take the place of the old gods and goddesses of Greece and Rome, the tribal Jehovah of the early Jews, the inhuman God of the modern Calvinist, and every form of limited or localized Deity of popular belief.

In undertaking to do this let me say first of all, that, though I call it the *new* conception, yet really it is only in a very limited sense new. I read to you as my text that lofty utterance of Jesus, "God is a Spirit [or God is Spirit] and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." This is exactly the conception of God which I mean by the new conception. I call it new, not because it has in our day first come into existence, but because our modern science has given it a new meaning and enlargement and emphasis, and is driving every other conception of the Deity out of the field except this. Really the conception is not new, but old as Jesus and far older. Paul who was partly contemporary with Jesus, utters it as clearly as his master: "In him (God)," says Paul, "we live and move and have our being." And the writer of the 139th Psalm, living some hun-

dreds of years before Jesus' day, sets forth the same conception in as graphic and beautiful words as ever were penned, or perhaps ever will be: "Whither shall I go from thy spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence? If I ascend up into heaven thou art there. If I make my bed in the grave thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me." Thus we see that this higher conception of the Deity, which modern science and thought are doing so much, consciously or unconsciously, to promote, goes back to the Bible and finds utterance, more or less clear, from the lips of not one but many of the loftier prophets and teachers of both Old Testament and New.

True, as I have already intimated, the *earliest* conception of God entertained by the Jews was of a local, tribal Deity—fierce, cruel, vengeful, jealous; who often took the form of a man; who, while he showed favor to Israel as his people, was inimical to all other peoples. Much of the writing of the Old Testament represents God according to this lower view. But the Bible is not one book, but many. It has not a single author, but many. It was written at different times, and at different stages of the nation's civilization and religious progress. It does not set forth one view of God, but different views, some lower, some higher. The conceptions of God found in the Bible show a clear progress—they are an evolution. While some of the writers give us the crude conception of God as a localized deity, or sort of magnified man, with all man's passions and imperfections, some, as the greater prophets, and especially Jesus and Paul, rise far above that, and reach clearly the high thought of God as the Universal Spirit, Infinite, Eternal, Perfect.

And what is true of the Bible is true outside of the Bible. Right among the ancient Greeks and Romans, where popularly the belief in the whole Pantheon of classic gods and goddesses held sway, there were living and thinking and writing, and

teaching to such as would hear them, such lofty spirits as Pythagoras, and Socrates, and Plato and Aristotle and Marcus Aurelius,—men whose conception of God had risen to be as high and pure as that of Isaiah or Paul, or I may almost say Jesus.

Plato, calls God "The One," "The Good," "The Sovereign Beauty," "The Ruling Mind, which orders all things and penetrates all things." Aristotle calls him "The Supreme Intelligence;" Anaxagoras, "The Divine Mind, the Infinite Wisdom;" Pythagoras, "The Universal Soul." Going out beyond Greece and Rome, we find the Persian Zoroaster describing God as "The Principle of Goodness and Truth; * * * the Sovereign Intelligence; the All Seeing." The Ancient Hindu Code of Manu declares him to be the "Invisible," "Eternal," "All-pervading Spirit." The oldest of the Vedas, which is perhaps the most ancient religious book in the world, calls him "The Great Soul," "Omnipotent, Eternal, Omnipresent." And a later Veda, but still very ancient, calls him "The Supreme Mind, which transcends all other intelligences. * * * The Incomprehensible Spirit, who illuminates all, and gives gladness to all; from whom all proceed."

Thus we see that in all lands, not only have men believed in God, and worshipped God, in some form or forms, but ever the tendency has been toward a conception which drops off bodily shapes, and physical attributes, and localizations, and limitations and imperfections, and says with Jesus, "God is Spirit,"—the Infinite Spirit, the Central Mind, Intelligence, Power, Will, Life, Soul of the Universe.

This is the conception toward which the world from the beginning has been steadily growing. The masses of the people, of course, have not reached it. But the great thinkers, the seers, the tall souls, of many ages and lands, have seen it, and proclaimed it. And now the rise of modern science, philosophy, and free thought compels men everywhere, as nothing before has ever done—the masses and the common people as well as the thinkers

—to take refuge in this highest, most spiritual, and at the same time most rational thought of the Divine Nature, up toward which the Platos, the Aristotles, the Socrateses, the Marcus Aureliuses, the Zoroasters, the Augustines and the Emersons, as well as the Isaiahs and Pauls and Jesuses of the world, have ever been leading the way.

Among the more noticable contributions made within our generation to the higher conception of God, or to an answer to the question, What ought we in this enlightened age to mean by God? are two—one made by Herbert Spencer (unintentionally) in his scientific doctrine of "Persistent Energy," and the other made by Matthew Arnold (purposely) in his moral or religious doctrine of "The Eternal Power, not ourselves, that works for righteousness."

Spencer uses the term "persistent energy" to express that Power which, though mysterious, is yet, as he declares, the most certainly existent of anything in the Universe; that Power which, as he urges, is and persists everywhere and in everything—the secret of the growth of plant, and flow of river, and swing of planet, and beat of pulse, and whirl of atom in granite. We trace all potencies and motions out and on until they lose themselves, in what? in this deep mystery of "persistent energy." This "persistent energy," Spencer insists, is the throb of the universe. It is the pulsing life blood of all nature. It is the soul of all worlds—and all potencies.

But now try an experiment. Try the experiment of calling this "persistent energy" by another and higher name. Call it by the great name of "God," (for God is religion's name for it), and what light comes! Call it God, and how suddenly are you confronted with God looking out upon you from every star and grass-blade and pebble on ocean's beach! Immediately, as if by miracle, the whole universe has become full of God.

Matthew Arnold speaks of "A Power not ourselves that works for righteousness" ever and ever, in all the affairs and on-goings of this world. That there is such a power, working in

men, and in history, and in all things for moral ends, even the gentlest student of the world's past well knows. Now Power, God, (for God is religion's name for this again), a living and real Deity begins to be, and how full of all events and all times at once become!

We are told that the modern doctrine of Evolution is a death-blow to the idea of God. True, it does give a death-blow to old and lower conceptions of God, but not to the new higher. With evolution the new conception of God has no conflict. Many of the greatest of the believers in evolution—sal Intelligence, from the old Pre-Socratic Greek philosophers down to Hegel and Emerson, have been believers in evolution in the full and complete sense in which it has been understood since Darwin, but yet believers in the central thought of evolution—that the world has been a growth, a development from low beginnings or simple elements, or as Spencer would say “from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous,” all the way up to what it is now. Evolution instead of removing God (according to the *higher conception* of God) out of the Universe, only shows the manner in which he has brought the universe to be what it is. Evolution does not disprove, but rather it implies an eternal purposeful Power. Without a Power, wise, persistent, eternal, at the heart of all the evolution, running through it, from beginning to end, the unsleeping, unresting, mysterious but never absent cause and explanation of it all, there could have been no evolution. You can have no evolution without three things. First, you must have something wrapped up, to evolve, or to be unfolded; next, you must have a path prepared beforehand along which the evolution can proceed; and finally, you must have an adequate Power back of all *to do the evolving*. Evolution can be nothing, therefore, but the manifestation in time and in material forms of a mighty Power transcending human knowledge,—that marches forward orderly, patient, purposeful, irresistible, to the accomplishment of its great ends. And what is that, only

saying, that evolution is just God, carrying out his great world-wide, universe-large and eternal designs in orderly, unhesitating, unrelenting, truly God-like fashion?

I have spoken of helps furnished by Spencer and Matthew Arnold to the higher conception of God. But we need not stop with these. I think Pope has helped some minds to a new and higher conception of God by that striking couplet of his "Essay on Man" in which he speaks of the universe as a

"stupendous whole,
Whose body Nature is, and God the Soul."

To be sure we have already seen the thought of God as "the Soul of the World," or as "the Universal Mind," to be as old as the philosophies and religions of Greece and India. Yet I think in the light of modern science the idea gains new significance. Is there a Mind side as well as a body side (or matter side) to the universe? The thought is suggestive. Many minds are asking, Why should there not be? and finding light in the inquiry. To think there is, at least throws the universe into analogy with ourselves, and makes it more intelligible. As for ourselves we all know that we have not only a body side but a mind side. And looking out beyond ourselves, upon our fellows, we say we know that they have the same. True, the mind side in them we cannot see. But what of that? There are so many evidences of its existence that we cannot doubt it. And so we say, we know that our fellow men have a mind side as truly as they have a body side. But now, looking out upon the great and marvelous universe, how overwhelming is the evidence that it too has a Mind side as truly as a body side! Plan is certainly as conspicuous and as inescapable in the universe as is matter. Order, design, system, purpose meet us on every side, and in everything. Intelligence runs like a woof through all nature; take it away and the cosmos sinks at once into a chaos. To be sure, you cannot see the Mind in nature. But you can see it as much as you can see my mind. There are exactly the same kinds of proofs to you of the exist-



ence of the World-Mind that there are of the existence of my mind, and ten thousand times as many in number. But now what does all this mean? It can mean only one thing. Translated into the language of religion it means God. The Mind side of the universe, which is so manifest and inescapable everywhere, is just the God side of the universe. And that means that the universe is full of God; and that no more truly do your minds and mine look out upon the world, through your eyes and mine, than does God, the Universal Soul, look out upon you and me through flower and frost crystal and sun and man.

Finally, in trying to shape out into greater clearness the higher conception of God, I think to some minds, at least, the thought of Life is useful—God the Supreme Life, the All-comprehending Life of the Universe.

I had occasion to converse, not long since, with a lady who told me she did not see that she believed in God. The God of her childish conceptions was a venerable old man up in the sky. As she grew to womanhood and came to think for herself she knew there could be no such being as that. Nor any more reasonable did it seem to her to believe that there could be such a God as the popular churches and the popular theologies appeared to her to teach—namely, a God who forever sat on a throne in a far off local heaven. And so she said to me with some hesitancy, but very sincerely, "I think I am an atheist." The conversation made me feel sure that I saw where her trouble was, and that her disbelief in God, like so much of the supposed atheism of the day, was only the protest of reason against believing in an irrational god, and an appeal for something higher; and so I said to her, "Perhaps your disbelief is right after all, indeed I am rather disposed to think it is. But now let us look upon the world—does it seem to you a dead or a living world? Do you have no sense of a Life higher than your own, larger, more universal, of which the life of each individual tree and plant and animal, and your own life, seems but an infinitesimal part—as it were a ripple, a

drop, a spark?" I shall never forget her answer. "Oh," said she thoughtfully, "I cannot express my sense, my feeling, my conviction, that there is somehow a Life larger than mine, with which my own is strangely connected. I cannot believe that anything is dead. I have studied Botany, and I stand dumb before the mystery of Life which that reveals. I have studied Chemistry, and I cannot but feel that matter itself is alive. Everything seems to me to be alive. I feel that the whole universe is filled with a strange and mysterious Life which I cannot understand, but which I am convinced exists."

I said to her, "Suppose we call that Life, God; for God is just religion's name for it." She was silent. Then, with a new light in her face she inquired, "Can that be God?" and added thoughtfully, "If that is God, then I believe in nothing so much as I believe in him." And from that day the world was full of God to her. From that day she understood the deep truth of the lines:

"Thou art, oh God, the Life and Light
Of all this wondrous world we see;
Its glow by day, its smile by night,
Are but reflections caught from Thee.
Where e'er we gaze Thy glories shine,
And all things fair and bright are Thine."

Poets are swift-footed runners who scale the heights in the new worlds of thought far ahead of their slower if surer footed scientific and philosophic brothers, and from the peaks gained shout back thrilling announcement of what they see beyond. Wordsworth was pre-eminently such an *avant courier* in the announcements he made regarding the new and higher conception of God which he saw to be slowly rising on the thought of our modern age. Do you remember his famous lines written near Tintern Abbey, in which he describes what God is to him? —

"A sense sublime,
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean, and the living air,

And the blue sky, and in the mind of man:
A motion and a spirit that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thoughts,
And rolls through all things."

Do you say this is only the vague and fanciful dream of a
which philosopher or scientist cares not for? I reply, Prof.
dall, quoting this very utterance of Wordsworth, declares:
forecast and religious vitalization of the *latest and deepest*
life truth."

But I must close. These then are a few faint shadows
forth of the great new—old yet new—thought of God, as it
rising upon the larger intelligence of our age. The lower con-
ceptions, born of cruder thinking, and poorer knowledge, as
darker times, are passing away; and as they disappear one by
one, it is not strange if we hear men whose eyes have caught no
vision of anything higher, say, "God is dead. Atheism like a
black sea rises and must engulf the earth." But let not your
heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid. God is not dead, nor
dying. The skies of the present, and still more those of the future,
have in them great light. With the passing away of the old
lower conceptions of Deity which have so long been current, and
in which very likely most of us were reared, there are coming
others, higher, better, rational where the others were irrational,
in harmony with science where the others were hostile, in
every way far more honoring to God and helpful to men than
those which they displace.

It is feared in some quarters that even if science does not
destroy God and banish him from the universe, it will at least
make him a cold abstraction, distant and unreal, to whom we
can no longer pray, whose interest in us and whose heart of love
will forever be gone.

But let us feel no alarm here either. If God remains the
Primal Energy at the center of all things, the Eternal Power not
ourselves that works for righteousness, the Light of the World,

the Universal Mind, the Infinite Life—what does all that mean, only that he remains also the Infinite Goodness, the Eternal Parent, in whose arms of unceasing care and protection we are by night and by day, and to whose bosom we go when death calls us from these earthly scenes.

To the disciples, when they besought the Master, "Teach us to pray," Jesus replied: "When ye pray, say, Our Father." All along down the ages, from Jesus' day to this, humble, burdened, sorrowing, trusting souls have been repeating the prayer: "Our Father," and finding in it inexpressible comfort and hope. At last, the light of science shines on the world, and men are advancing to a thought of God different from that which has been. But lo: I see men, women and children, everywhere, with upturned faces still saying, "Our Father," and no whit of the power or sweetness of the prayer is gone. But rather has it grown to a richer meaning than ever it had before; for now, with the better thought of God which is appearing, heaven comes down to earth as never before, and God, the All Father—the All Father because the Infinite Wisdom, and Power and Life—dwells no longer throned in solitary majesty in the far-off skies, but has his throne and dwelling place among men, here, everywhere, by every hearthstone, in the glory of every sunset cloud, amidst the petals of every opening flower, in the aspirations and yearnings of every human heart. Oh, the larger and sweeter, as well as worthier thought of God, which, with the passing away of superstition, and the growth of knowledge, is rising on our modern age! Not less, but vastly more, does it mean now, to bow the head and say "God," than it ever meant before.

"We say, 'Our Father,' when we wake:—
What with the sunrise seems to break
Through every flower like a surprise,
As if a thousand loving eyes
Looked out from sunbeams, buds and dew,
And said, 'He is Our Father, too.'"

We, little children stand and gaze
At the white evening star, whose rays
Beam down upon us like an eye
Forever open in the sky,—
Through the strange twilight asking this
Of one another, 'Is it His?'

Who is He? That we cannot say,
He is. And by His side to stay,
To love him in the flowers and birds,
In dear home faces, tender words,
In all things beautiful and true,—
No more than this we ask to do.

Our Father, every day more dear,
It seems to live with Thee so near;
Thou carest for even the smallest star,
And safe within thy heart we are.
If left alone on earth are we,
We are not orphans,—WE HAVE THEE."





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REV. B. FAY MILLS AND THE
STATE UNIVERSITY;

OR

Ought Revivals and Meetings for Sec-
tarian Propagandism to be held in
a State Institution of Learning?

BY

REV. J. T. SUNDERLAND.

A SERMON PREACHED IN THE UNITARIAN CHURCH,
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REV. B. FAY MILLS AND SECTARIAN REVIVALS IN THE STATE UNIVERSITY.

In this question which I am to consider this morning there seems to be involved a great principle, dear to every lover of political and religious freedom,—namely, the principle of the equality of all citizens of the State in rights and privileges, and, correlated with that, the duty of the State to see that such equality be not interfered with. It is on account of the importance of this principle, and the duty that rests upon each of us to do what we can to guard it, that I wish to discuss the coming Mills revival, so far as it is connected directly with the University.

If the present were the first case of holding revival meetings or meetings in the interest of a single section of the public, in this institution of our common love and pride, it would be less important to invite public attention to it. But, as is well known, this is not the first instance. Not to speak of Bible Institutes and other meetings of various kinds, conducted strictly in the interest of Evangelical Christianity, that have been held in the University from time to time, we need to go back less than four years to find a series of revival meetings carried on jointly in the Methodist church and the University under the conduct of Mr. Moody. It is in view of the past, therefore, as well as the present, that I speak on this subject to-day.

You all know well of the elaborate preparations which have been going forward in the city for several months for the coming of Mr. Mills,—the many announcements that have been made through the papers, the choir training, the appointment of numerous committees to carry on the various sides of the work, such as the advertising, the money-raising, the distribution of tickets, the ushering, the arranging for prelimin-

ary meetings, etc. You have all seen the circular, which has been put into all the houses of the city and circulated widely among the students, containing the picture of Mr. Mills, a sketch of his life, and full information regarding the meetings which are to be held, beginning immediately and lasting ten days or so, including four in the great Hall of the University.

Now of course if these meetings were to be simply church affairs I should have nothing to say. The churches of the city have a right to plan for such meetings as these, or any others that they see fit. I might doubt the wisdom of revivalistic methods, and might wish the churches could be willing to carry on their religious work in ways that seem to me better. Still neither I nor any one else would think of questioning their right to plan their own work in their own way.

And of course it is perfectly proper, too, for the Student's Christian Association to exercise the same liberty in planning its work, so long as it carries on that work in its own building.

The point at which a question arises is, that of carrying revival meetings, or meetings for sectarian propagandism, into the University. Ought either the churches of the city, or the Student's Christian Association, or both combined, to be permitted to carry such meetings into a State institution of learning? An institution of learning that belongs to the State by that very fact belongs to me, and to you, and to every other citizen of the State. No one ought to be granted any monopoly in it; all have equal rights in it. This is why it may not be used for the advantage of any political party: such a use would be unjust to other political parties, which would thus be discriminated against. This is also the reason why it ought not to be used for the advantage of any religious sect or combination of sects. The State as the grantor of equal rights to all, and the equal protector of all, can know nothing of Baptist or Methodist, or Unitarian; nothing of Catholic or Protestant; nothing of Evangelical or Liberal; nothing of Jew, or Christian, or Agnostic.

How carefully the State guards the religious as well as the political equality of all her citizens, may be seen by referring to the fundamental law. I cannot do better than read the provisions of our State Constitution bearing upon this subject. Turning to Art. IV of the Constitution of Michigan, we find sections 39, 40, 41 and 42, reading as follows:

SEC. 39.—The legislature shall pass no law to prevent any person from worshipping Almighty God according to the dictates of his own conscience, or to compel any person to attend, erect, or support any place of religious worship, or to pay tithes, taxes or other rates for the support of any minister of the gospel or teacher of religion.

SEC. 40.—No money shall be appropriated or drawn from the treasury for the benefit of any religious sect or society, theological or religious seminary, nor shall property belonging to the State be appropriated for any such purposes.

SEC. 41.—The legislature shall not diminish or enlarge the civil or political rights, privileges and capacities of any person on account of his opinion or belief concerning matters of religion.

SEC. 42.—No law shall ever be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech or of the press; but every person may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of such rights.

It does not seem possible to frame more careful provisions than these for ensuring religious equality in the State, or for preventing religious favoritism. The State Constitution in a manner recognizes religion, but it does not discriminate in favor of any form of religion. Instead of that it makes such discrimination forever illegal. The way it recognizes religion is by making sure that no form of religion shall ever be given legal precedence over another; and by guaranteeing to all its citizens perfect religious liberty and equality for all time.

It is these provisions of the Constitution of the State that seem to be violated by the opening of the State University to the Mills revival meetings, planned in the interest of a single form of Christianity,—namely, that known as Evangelicalism, or to any other meetings having sectarian ends in view.

It is not quite a settled question whether religion in any form, even the broadest, ought to be introduced into a State institution of learning. There are many very wise and very good men, yes, and deeply religious men, who hold that it ought not. They say, Upon nothing are men so divided as upon religion. No form of religion can be found which all will accept. The attempt therefore to give any form of religion a place in a university, or indeed in any other school which is for the whole public, and in which the whole public has an equal right, is only to introduce a source of endless discord and division. And not only endless but needless; for why wish to carry formal religion into such educational institutions? No one kind of institution can serve for all ends.

Our age is learning that if it would accomplish anything it must specialize. Once the barber was also the surgeon ; and the preacher also the teacher. Now these functions are separated. Once the farmer made most of his farm utensils, and the housewife spun the wool and wove the cloth for her family. Now these industries are broken up into a score or a hundred separate industries, which are carried on each by itself. Why shall we not recognize the same principle in education and religion? As soon as we do we shall be content to let the school and college carry on the work of intellectual education for which they exist, and the church the work of religion and religious education for which it exists. Then we shall have peace and harmony. Indeed, in much of education we make this separation now, and nobody complains ; everybody sees its wisdom. Thus, if one goes to a music school he does not expect to find there any provision made for prayers, or any kind of formal religious exercises. He goes for music, and he gets what he goes for—that and that only. The same is true if he goes to an art school, or a scientific school, or a medical college, or a law college, or a trade school. Why should it not be so with every kind of school and college ; especially every kind supported by the State and intended for all classes of the people? Why introduce division and dissatisfaction by bringing in religion at all, where at best you can give so little attention to it, and make it amount to so little? Why not, instead, turn it over once for all to the church and the home, where it finds its fitting place, where it can be given the time and attention it deserves, and where it will not create strife and division?

This, I say, is one view of the relation of religion to educational institutions, especially such as are supported by the State. And this view, as I have said, is held by many very intelligent and very religious persons.

What shall we say to this view? That there is great force in it I think we must all admit. And if the only form of religion to be found were one that is sectarian, and therefore dividing in its nature, then the view would seem to be wholly sound, and incapable of being successfully controverted.

But is it not possible to find a form of religion that is not sectarian—that leaves out those more superficial elements about which religious people differ and contend, and keeps

those deeper elements about which they agree;—a form of religion, therefore, which instead of dividing and estranging would draw people together as brothers? I confess I believe that it is possible to find such a religion. And if such a religion can be found, then it seems to me legitimate to give it recognition and a place, within reasonable limits, in institutions of learning, even those that are supported by the State. For the State has great interest in the moral character of its people, since upon that its own stability depends; and nothing has more power to create moral character than a pure and noble religion. Thus it seems to me that the whole question ought to turn upon the character of the religion. But one thing is certainly true—so true and so obvious that I do not see how any fair-minded person can question it—and that is, that if religion is admitted and fostered it must be in a form that is *not partizan*, nor in the interest of a single sect or group of sects: the only form of religion that is justifiable for a single moment in an institution of learning supported by public money and where consequently all should stand on an equality, is one absolutely broad, tolerant, undogmatic, unsectarian. If religion cannot be this, then it should be left out from the institution entirely. Nothing less than this is just; and, as we have seen, nothing less than this is in harmony with the fundamental law of the land which guarantees to all the people of the state perfect religious liberty and equality.

The objections to the holding of the Mills revival meetings in the University are perhaps principally two.

The first has to do with the seeming fact that they are *sectarian* meetings, and the second with the fact that they are *revival* meetings. It does not seem easy to believe that a State University is the place to hold meetings of either kind. Let us look at the two objections separately.

1. First the meetings seem to be sectarian, looking to ends of sectarian propagandism. I know this will be denied. We shall be told very earnestly, and doubtless, by many, very sincerely, that this movement cannot be sectarian because it represents not one but a number of denominations. As if sectarianism must necessarily be limited to a single denomination. As if it were not as possible to have an evangelical sectarianism as a Baptist, or a Presbyterian, or a Unitarian sectarianism. This is a mistake that is often made. The fact is, there may be a sectarianism of a single sect; or there

may be a sectarianism of a group of sects. If a group of sects maintain doctrines or forms in common that cut them off from the rest of the religious world, they are as a group as sectarian as is a single sect whose doctrines or forms cut it off from the rest of the religious world. Thus we see, the fact that the Mills meetings embrace several denominations does not necessarily make them unsectarian, if those several denominations holds forms or doctrines in common that cut them off from others.

Let us see what are the facts.

Who invites Mr. Mills to Ann Arbor? He is invited by the Student's Christian Association of the University, and the pastors of nine of the churches of the city. What is the Student's Christian Association? It is a religious organization which, while open as regards membership broadly to all Christians, is restricted as to its government and control to evangelical Christians. What are the churches whose pastors have joined in the invitation? They are all evangelical churches.

So then does the movement to bring Mr. Mills here and put him into the University represent religion as a whole? Certainly not. Does it represent Christianity as a whole? Certainly not. Does it represent the Michigan churches, or the Ann Arbor churches, as a whole? Certainly not. Does it represent the University as a whole? Certainly not. It represents simply that part or section of the Christian members of the University, and of the churches of the city, that is known by the name evangelical.

To be sure, the evangelical part of Christianity is an honored and important part, but it is only a part. It is not even the largest part. It represents an important group of denominations; but none of them are so old as the Catholic; nor do they all united possess nearly so large a membership in the world as does that single denomination. Even of the Ann Arbor churches *four* are not in this movement to bring Mr. Mills here—namely, the Catholic, the Episcopal, the Zion, and the Unitarian: so that, look at it in any way we will, the movement is a sectional one,—planned by, and in the interest of, a section of the University, and a section of the local community.

No, some one will say, not in the *interest* of a section. The meetings may have been planned *by* a section, but certainly in the *interest* of *all*. The aim is to benefit *everybody*.

This I can readily grant, so far as *motive* is concerned; but not as regards *results*. I have no disposition at all to question the excellency of the motives of the planners of these meetings. They want to benefit everybody; but they want to benefit them in *their way*. They want to benefit me, they want to benefit you, they want to benefit all the students of the University; but the way they want to do it is by *converting* us all to *their form of religious faith*. It is in this that the essential sectarianism of the whole movement appears. It is a movement to make Christians,—but, Christians of a *certain pattern*. And does any one believe that the Roman Catholic pattern, or the Liberal Christian pattern, will be regarded as satisfactory? It is a movement to save souls; but to save them by a *certain method*. And we may be sure that any method different from that taught by evangelical orthodoxy, will be rejected.

If the object of the meetings had been to benefit men, and to save them irrespective of dogma and theological scheme, this church and the minister of this church would have been invited to have a part in the meetings; for I am sure that all who know us at all know that there is no church in this city more earnestly desirous than we to benefit men, and to do all in our power to save our fellows from all that hurts and degrades and destroys.

This then shows what I mean when I speak of this Mills revival movement as being a movement for sectarian ends—ends of sectarian propagandism. If it had been a movement for simply the broad ends of religion, irrespective of sectarian considerations, if its aim had been solely to deepen the moral and spiritual life of the University and the city, to purify human lives, to quicken piety, and to strengthen the forces of good, without reference to evangelical propagandism, surely it would have sought to enlist in its aid all in the community who are interested in promoting these great ends.

Does any one fail to see that if it is proper to open the University Hall to meetings for evangelical propagandism, it is equally proper to open it to meetings for Unitarian propagandism, or Roman Catholic propagandism, or for that matter for Jewish propagandism?

A series of meetings were held in the city week before last in the interest of Catholic propagandism, by an able representative of the Catholic faith. If it is proper for the Mills meet-

ings to go into University Hall, would it not have been proper for those of Father Elliott to go there?

Probably Father Elliott did not ask or wish to go there. I have little doubt that both he and our Catholic friends in the city generally recognized the fact that the University should be religiously neutral ground, and is not a fit place for any kind of sectarian propagandism.

Some persons attempt to justify the opening of University Hall to Mr. Mills on the ground that it was asked for by the Christian Association, which is a student organization, and that it is a rule with the University authorities to open the hall to any student organization that asks for it. But do the University authorities have such a rule? I am told to the contrary. I am told that they discriminate between applicants, and consider the uses to which the hall is to be put, as well as the source of the application. I am told that there are certain objects for which student organizations are not granted the hall—for example, that of political or party propagandism. But is not party propagandism in politics as fitting a use for the hall as sectarian propagandism in religion?

I more than suspect that if the Foley Guild of Catholic young men in the University should apply for University Hall for Catholic revival purposes, it would not be granted them; just as I more than suspect that if an organization of Liberal young men in the University should apply for it for like purposes, it would be refused them. It certainly ought to be refused to both. If either want a building for such uses they should go to their own churches, or hire an outside room. To allow the State University, or any part of it, to be used for objects which tend to divide, and to give one part of the people the advantage over another, simply because a partizan organization of students desire it, would be strange management of an institution of learning established by the State for the equal use and advantage of all its citizens.

But if the University authorities ought not to grant University Hall to Catholics or liberals for partizan purposes, no matter if Catholic or liberal organizations do request it, what shall we say to their granting it to the Student's Christian Association when they ask for it for purposes so clearly partizan as those of the Mills revival?

Now, it seems to me we have here a principle that is per-

fectly clear and that should always be carried out in University management—to hold the University steadily clear from partizan and sectarian ends and uses, alike in politics and religion.

Let Republicans, Democrats, Populists, Evangelicals, Catholics, Liberals, Free-Thinkers, with perfect freedom and impartiality be heard there, as men, as scholars, as thinkers, upon all the great subjects that engage human thought, without allowing the question ever to be so much as asked, "What party or sect do they belong to?" But when any party or sect, or combination of parties or sects, thinks to use the University as a vantage ground from which to further its peculiar partizan or sectarian end, then let the word, "No," be spoken so promptly and so emphatically that the attempt will not be likely to be made again.

I said that the main objections to the holding of the Mills meetings in the University are two.

First, the fact that they are *sectarian* and *propagandist* in their nature. And second, the fact that they are distinctly *revival* meetings.

I have spoken sufficiently upon the first point, and pass now to the second.

Not all sectarian and propagandist meetings are revival meetings. Revival meetings have characteristics of their own which are open to special objections.

It is well known that many clergymen of eminence, even in orthodox and evangelical churches, will not consent to employ professional revivalists, and refuse to hold special revival meetings, because they distrust the whole revivalistic method. Certain it is that some of the great revivals of the past have been pronounced by historians—and historians of the same faith that the revivals sought to promote—to be in their final and lasting effects about as great scourges as ever fell upon the Christian church. Nothing has been more noticeable in the history of the church than that times of great revivals are likely to be followed by times of corresponding relapse, spiritual dearth, skepticism, infidelity.

I well remember a revival which I passed through when I was about eighteen years of age. I was then a member of an orthodox church, and supposed that of course revival seasons were necessary. The number of conversions claimed as the result of the revival was, if I recollect correctly, over a hundred. The next winter we tried to count up those who

still held firm to their profession. We could find less than a dozen. The rest had relapsed, and as the result of their experience many of them had been greatly hardened, and prejudiced permanently against religion.

We often hear places through which revivals have swept called, as regards moral and spiritual things, "burned districts." Alas! I have known too many such "burned districts," as every one has, who has had much experience or observation in the religious world.

I remember that a few months after the close of Mr. Moody's long revivalistic campaign in London, some years ago, a large meeting of pastors was held to talk over the results, and a considerable number expressed very grave doubt whether on the whole the revival had been beneficial, and whether the real cause of religion could not have been more advanced by quiet, steady work in the churches than it had been by all the great meetings, the excitement and the ado.

The revival method is the method of revolution. Nature's method is that of evolution. Revolution is always followed by more or less of loss and evil. Evolution is followed by the maximum of good and the minimum of loss. It is not strange therefore that as ministers and churches of all denominations grow in intelligence, and come to understand more fully the laws of moral and spiritual life, they learn more and more to distrust the revivalistic method, and more and more to trust the regular, steady, quiet, agencies of religious education, instruction, influence, growth, evolution.

The principal objections to revivals may perhaps be summed up under three heads.

First, they are usually carried on by men who lack a good deal of being the highest class of religious teachers. I say usually. Of course there are exceptions. Some revivalists are men of high character, of real religious sincerity, and of considerable spiritual insight. But I think nearly all will agree with me that the average revivalist is a sensationalist, a man who cares for outward effects, a man of not profound study or thought or broad views, a man of not deep spiritual experience, a man who in culture, in solid attainments, and in real moral and spiritual worth will rank distinctly lower than the average pastor.

I do not say this of Mr. Mills, for I do not know him. I am prepared to find him a man of considerable ability. But

certainly it hardly preposses one in his favor as a religious teacher to find the circular that announces his coming and his work, proclaiming the fact that he is a reformed drunkard and gambler.

Of course I do not mean to deny that one who has been as low down as that may afterward become a virtuous man, and be able to teach others lessons of truth and good. But I do mean that advertising one's former sins is a poor way to recommend one. At least it smacks of sensationalism, and does not give one any added assurance of the genuine quality of his work. A church that had called a new pastor, and was sending out to the public its first announcement concerning him, I am sure would not be likely to include the information that he was a reformed drunkard, even if he were such.

A second objection to revivals is, they employ the sensational method, the method of excitement, the hot-house method—the method of revolution instead of that of evolution. But of this I have already spoken sufficiently.

The third objection to them is, they are, as a rule, distinctly and pre-eminently backward-looking in their theology. The tendency among the better educated and more thoughtful ministers of all denominations, is to grow a little more liberal as the years go on. This is one of the hopeful signs of the times. Thus many pulpits to-day are silent about many things that our fathers used to hear, and many that count themselves thoroughly orthodox and evangelical give utterance now to views which in our fathers' day would have been counted rank heresy.

But the tendency of the revival is to check all this. The revivalist, almost of necessity, preaches an infallible Bible, an actual Adam, a literal fall, a ruined race, a dying God, an atoning sacrifice, a literal judgment day of doom, an eternal hell. Indeed, he *must* preach these doctrines in order to be effective. A more advanced and liberal theology is not dramatic enough, does not have in it enough of the element of catastrophe, of danger, and of alarm, to startle and excite men, and produce the immediate and sensational results which he seeks.

Thus the effect of a revival in a community is usually to check progress of thought in biblical and theological matters, and to produce a distinctly more narrow, dogmatic, and backward-looking type of religious belief.



WHO ARE SAVED?

A SERMON BY REV. J. T. SUNDERLAND.

Must we Believe that Men of such divers Views and Characters, as Emerson, Darwin, Lincoln, Peter Cooper, John J. Fagley and Rice A. Beal, none of whom believed in the Orthodox Scheme of Salvation, are Lost?

"Not every one that saith unto me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven: but he that doeth the will of my Father who is in Heaven."—JESUS.

"Then shall the King say unto them upon his right hand, Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you,—for I was hungry and ye fed me, naked and ye clothed me, sick and in prison and ye ministered unto me."—JESUS.

The question, *Who are Saved?* is a question of as practical and solemn concern, to every man and woman, as any inquiry that can possibly be suggested to a human mind.

Will you imagine yourselves, and me, and all the inhabitants of this country, to be living by a sea-shore. Across the sea is a land which no man on this side has ever seen. But it is a law with us, that every inhabitant here must sooner or later, and at such time as the governing power shall direct, go down to the shore, embark in a vessel waiting, and sail to the other side, to live there always and never return. No one on this side has ever seen that other-side land. Yet, from various kinds of evidences and intimations which come to us, we have reason to believe that those who go, go to become, some of them toilers, without hope of reprieve, in awful mines like those of Siberia, and some, prisoners in hopeless dungeons like those of the Inquisition, while others become kings and queens and princes, or otherwise enter upon lives the most attractive and desirable possible to be conceived; and finally, we have reason to believe that the fate of all over there, is decided by something or other that they do or fail to do here on this side.

I say, Imagine this condition of things to exist. What would result? One thing certainly would result. Our hearts would com-

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pel us to ask ten thousand times over, concerning our loved ones who had bidden us good-bye and sailed away: "Have they gone to scenes and situations of happiness? or have they gone to the mines, and the dungeons?" And for ourselves: "To which are we going?" "What is it here that determines fate over there?"

But now, turn from imagination to fact, and we find that we *are* all living by a sea shore—in a land from which our friends around us are sailing away one by one, and from which we too must sail soon, so that in a little while not one of us will be left on these earthly shores. Whither are we going? If the theology which has come down to most of us from our fathers, and which is taught in most of the churches around us, is true, we are going to a land, and all those who have departed before us have gone to a land where the separations will be *more severe*, and the differences of condition will be *more awful*, than those between king and Siberian miner, or between prince and prisoner in dungeon.

Surely then it behooves us to inquire, Is the theology which is taught around us, worthy of our credence? And what, really, have we reason to believe, concerning the condition of those, loved by us or honored by us, who have gone, or shall go, into the mysterious land beyond the sea of death?

It is comparatively *easy* to believe that *bad* men—men whose lives on earth have been full of crime and wickedness—may be consigned in the future world, to a hell of punishment; yet even in their case I think reason and justice must teach us that the punishment, inflicted by a just and good God, must be reformatory in its aim, and not vindictive, and must sometime come to an end. However, it is not the case of men whose lives have been full of wickedness and crime, that I wish particularly to consider in this discourse. It is the case of men whose lives have been useful, who have been looked up to and loved and honored in their generation, and who, when they are gone, are sincerely and widely mourned as men who have blessed the world by their living.

Is there a hell, and a hell of endless and hopeless suffering awaiting them,—simply because they were unbelievers of certain theological doctrines generally believed in the community, but which seemed to them unreasonable and untrue? How is it about such men as Emerson, of whom the people of Lexington once said when he came there and preached a few Sundays, "We asked for a man, but they sent us an angel?" Such men as Darwin, that singularly white and sincere soul, who not only did so much for the

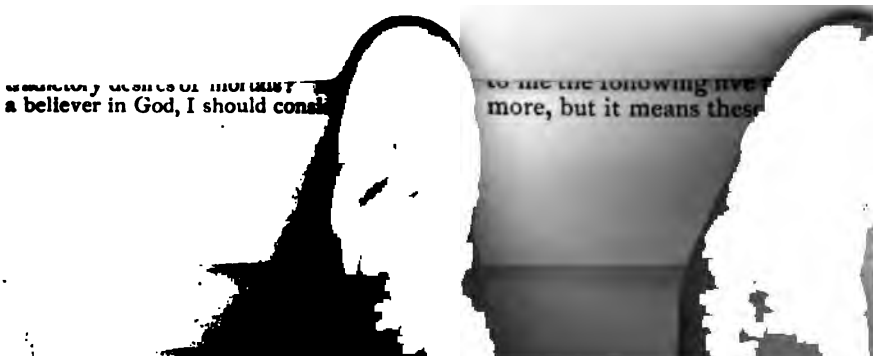
world's science, but who also all his life labored to bless the poor and needy by his side? Such men as Lincoln, who freed five millions of slaves, and by his honest, unselfish devotion to his country's good, made himself almost a Christ to his countrymen? Such men as Peter Cooper, who devoted a long life with singular generosity, persistence and wisdom to the welfare of the working people of New York, leaving behind him one of the noblest Charities of modern times? Such men as John J. Bagley, in our own State, who as governor put more heart into his public work than almost any other public official we ever had; who established, against much opposition, that best of all our State beneficences, the State, School for Dependent Children, at Coldwater, and gave of his money perhaps more freely than any other citizen of the State has ever done for every good cause and undertaking in the State? And finally, to mention no others though the list of names that might be cited is practically endless—such men as our own lamented fellow-townsmen, Mr. Beal, whose recent loss is felt so deeply by us all, who in his life did so much for the town and the University, and for the unfortunate and the poor? How is it, I say, about such men as these? It is such that I desire to inquire about—pressing the question earnestly for answer—Did these men imperil their souls by their theological unsoundness, so-called,—that is, by the fact that they were unable to believe or accept the current theology? If they did we ought to know it. If they did not we ought to know that.

Of course, if these men are saved, they are saved either by the commonly preached Scheme of Salvation, or without it. Let us ask first, if we can believe they are saved by it. And if we find not, then we will inquire if we may believe they are saved without it.

First, then, are these men saved—have we reason to believe they have gone to heaven—by virtue of anything that the commonly taught scheme of redemption has done for them?

In order to answer this, we shall need to understand exactly what that scheme of redemption is. Very well, what is it?

Briefly stated it is this: Man is a fallen and ruined being, it says. His first parents were created pure and holy, but being tempted in their first garden home they yielded and fell; as a result sin came into the world; the race became a fallen and ruined race, unable to save themselves, and must be turned into hell for Adam's sin and their own, unless some outside help can be found for them. No



being is powerful enough to afford them the help they require except God himself. The different persons therefore that make up God, consult among themselves, and decide that the second person of God, or of the Trinity, that is God the Son, shall come to earth, assume the form of a babe, grow up to be a man, die on a criminal's cross—the just for the unjust—and thus by shedding his blood make an atonement for the sins of the world. This done, all who will accept the salvation purchased by the death of the slain God—accept his punishment in place of their own—by faith appropriate his merit—be washed in his blood—be clothed in his righteousness (there are many ways of expressing it)—may thereby be saved from the hell of everlasting torments which would otherwise be theirs, and be admitted to a heaven of everlasting felicity. This is in brief the scheme of salvation, which, with varying phraseology, and with of course slight changes of thought, but with no *essential modification* is formulated in all the so-called evangelical and orthodox theologies and creeds and confessions of faiths in the Christian world, and taught in all the sound or unheterodox pulpits. This is the scheme of salvation of the prayer books, and the prayer meetings, and the hymn books, and the Sunday schools, and the revivals everywhere.

Well, are Emerson and Darwin and Peter Cooper and the others whom I have named, saved by this scheme of salvation?

To be sure they are not. How can they be? The essential thing in order to be saved by this scheme of salvation is, to accept it by faith—to believe in it—to take Christ for one's Savior by trusting to his blood and merit and atoning work. But not one of these men believed in this scheme at all—not one put his trust in any such blood or merit or atoning work; not one regarded the scheme as anything else than a figment of the brains of theologians.

Emerson was a lofty religious spirit; one of the noblest of the religious teachers of the modern world, who prized the Bible, and honored Jesus. But he declared that the notion that Jesus was other than a man, is simply to be classed with the fables of every popular religion.

Darwin was a believer in God, but the popular notions of supernaturalism, and redemption, and the like, he declared that he saw no ground for accepting.

Abraham Lincoln was in the best and truest sense of the world a religious man. He believed in God, and in prayer; but as nearly as I can gather from the various sources of information open to us about him, he did not believe in the popular theology. The author

of "Six Months at the White House" quotes Mr. Lincoln as saying: "I have never united myself to any church, because I have found difficulty in giving my assent, without mental reservation, to the long, complicated statements of Christian doctrine which characterize the Articles of Belief and Confessions of Faith. When any church will inscribe over its altar, as its sole qualification for membership, the Savior's condensed statement of the substance of both Law and Gospel, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and thy neighbor as thyself', that church will I join with all my heart and with all my soul." This is exactly the position of the Unitarian and the Universalist. Both hold, with Lincoln, that love to God and man, and not any theological Schemes of Salvation, are the central things in religion.

Coming to Peter Cooper, he had been for forty years before his death an earnest and unflinching Unitarian. A year ago last month I spent a Sunday in New York and preached in the morning in the All Souls Unitarian church, where Dr. Bellows was for so many years pastor. Just before me, and a little at the left, as I preached, sat the venerable Peter Cooper. They told me that ever since the church was erected he had occupied that pew, and hardly a Sunday morning had he ever been absent from it. As a Unitarian what was his religious belief? In religion? Yes. In Christianity as Jesus taught it? Yes. But in the Christianity of the popular theology, which puts a theological scheme in the place of the Golden Rule and love to God and man? No! That he did not believe in. He used to assert with great emphasis, that a good character and a useful life are the safe things to trust to for salvation, and not the righteousness or good deeds of another.

What was true of Peter Cooper was in the main true of Gov. Bagley. He too was a Unitarian, and a staunch upholder of the doctrine that every man, as Paul says, must work out his own salvation, and that all depending upon any purchased or lent or borrowed salvation or merit or righteousness, will in the end be found to be a broken reed.

Finally, Mr. Beal seems to have stood upon about the same ground. He had for many years supported the Methodist church, because he believed in religion, and thought churches did good in the community. The reason why he supported the Methodist church seems to have been because his family were attached there, and social considerations led him that way. But as to his believing the peculiar Methodist theology, or the destructive orthodox theo-

...any degree of morality: for myself, I am the following hymn:
a believer in God, I should consider it a duty, but it means these), to

logy in any form, it is proper for me to say, because it is well known in the community at large, that he did not. To a considerable number who sit before me now, he has said personally and emphatically that he did not. I suppose it fell to my lot to be the last one of his fellow townsmen to talk with him on the subject of religion. It chanced that as he went away on that last journey from which he was not to return alive, I was on the same train and rode from Kalamazoo to Chicago with him. Soon after I entered the car at Kalamazoo he saw me and came and sat down by my side, and we had a talk of considerable length. And soon he introduced the subject of religion, and of his own accord told me what he believed regarding some of the most important religious matters. What did he believe? Did he believe in God? Yes. On this he expressed himself emphatically, declaring that the evidence seemed to him overwhelming that there was a Power and Wisdom and Justice in the world higher than man's. And he believed that it was proper and right and due for men to be grateful to, and worship God, and obey him by keeping his wise laws. But when it came to the miraculous parts of the Bible, and the supernaturalistic parts of theology, there he was no longer a believer. He did not say that he was a Unitarian, though he took exactly the Unitarian position. He planted his feet squarely upon the religion of reason, and common sense. Of course I do not *know* but that some sudden and great change came over his belief during the few days that elapsed between my conversation with him and his death. But unless there was some such sudden and great change, which nobody seems to know anything of, he died as he had lived, believing in God, and in salvation as Jesus taught by clothing the naked, feeding the hungry, and doing good to those in need, but not believing in any theological scheme of vicarious or purchased redemption.

You see, then, how plain it is that not one of these men is saved, that every one must to-day be in hopeless perdition, if there is no salvation but that of the popular theology. Saved by *that theology* they certainly cannot be, because the means by which we are taught that that theology saves men, viz., faith in the atoning sacrifice of Christ, and acceptance of his merit and righteousness, they each and all lived, and so far as we can find out, died, disbelieving and rejecting.

Very well, then, what shall our conclusion be? Shall we give these loved and honored men up as lost, because the commonly taught scheme of salvation has no power to save them?

No friends, we cannot do that. Every deepest and most authoritative voice in us declares they are not lost, and cannot be. Ten times over rather than accept the damnation of such men, we must IMPEACH THE THEOLOGY that even hints the possibility of any such damnation. The very fact that a scheme of salvation leaves such men as these unsaved, condemns the scheme as inadequate and false. Instead of a *true* salvation *not* saving such men, these are exactly the men of all, that a true salvation would be *certain to save*. I do, therefore, impeach the commonly accepted scheme of salvation, as inadequate, false, and evil in its tendencies. And I do so, first, at the bar of the Bible; and secondly, at the bar of reason and the moral judgment of every man who hears me.

First, I impeach it at the bar of the Bible.

But here let me not be misunderstood. I freely grant that there are individual passages in the Bible, which seem to favor the doctrine of Christ's sacrificial atonement, and salvation by his blood—and indeed which, taken by themselves, lend more or less support to such a doctrine. I do not therefore charge men with being knaves or fools who teach the doctrine, and profess to support it with Bible texts. But this I do urge, that if it is the teaching of fragments of the Bible, it is the teaching of *only fragments*, and not of the Bible as a whole; and furthermore I urge that it finds such support as it has, not in the greater prophets and writers of the Old Testament, or in Jesus the greatest teacher of the new. These, so far from teaching it, teach the very opposite. To support it at all, we must first assume that all parts of the Bible are equally valuable, and equally authoritative—something which every evidence and every consideration shows not to be true. The fact is, the Jews in the earlier Old Testament times, like most of the heathen nations around them, believed that God required to be appeased and placated by offerings and sacrifices, and especially by the shedding of blood. As time went on, and the people became more enlightened, and attained to higher and worthier views of God, this belief tended to pass away, and men came more and more to see that what God wants is not blood, not sacrifices of beasts slain, or anything of that kind, but the love and homage of man's heart. The more large-minded and spiritual and deep seeing writers of the Bible, whether of Old Testament or New, all take that high ground. The writers of the Psalms take it. The greater prophets do. Coming to the New Testament, Jesus does, most emphatically.

In the three most historically trustworthy Gospels, Matthew,

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Mark and Luke, only one single utterance purporting to come from the lips of Jesus can be found, which, by proper interpretation, gives any support to the doctrine of vicarious sacrifice. True, his life is called a "ransom for many," just as we speak of our patriot soldiers laying down their lives as a ransom for their country. But the only words of Jesus, in all the synoptic gospels, setting forth his death as an atonement, in any sense, for sin, are those in Matthew where he speaks of his blood shed "for the remission of sins." But that does not necessarily mean any such thing as the common doctrine of blood atonement. And moreover, even if it did, it should be observed that both of the other two evangelists, (Mark and Luke) who report the conversation in which these words occur, and the very sentence even, *omit these words*. Surely they would not have omitted the most important part of the sentence,—nay, the most important part, if the doctrine of vicarious atonement is true, of all the teaching of Jesus. It is very clear then, that they must have omitted the words because Jesus never uttered them; and that, like so many other things, they got added to the account in a later day, by some one who thought Jesus ought to have said them.

The disciples of Jesus, in this as in so many other ways, appear to have fallen below or misunderstood their master. They seem never to have got entirely out of their entanglement in the old Jewish sacrificial system. Forever the old notion that there cannot be a religion without sacrificial offerings of some kind, seems to haunt them; and so we have the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (who the author was we do not know), and to some extent other New Testament writers, lugging in the old figures of speech taken from the sacrificial operations, and even going so far in some places as to weave the old notions of sacrificialism around the work and death of Jesus. But these notions as they appear in the New Testament are plainly survivals—unworthy survivals, from the old sacrificial Judaism. The New Testament as a *whole* does not teach anything of the kind, as the prophets of the Old Testament do not. And Jesus, the great authoritative voice of the New Testament, is particularly clear from such conceptions or thoughts, and far above them. Of the great number of Bible passages which rise and press themselves on our attention in proof of what I say, time will permit me to stop long enough to quote only a few. Yet a few I must place before you.

First this from the Psalms: "Thou desirest not sacrifice; else would I give it; thou desirest not burnt offering. The sacrifices of

God are a broken spirit. A broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise." What a rebuke have we here to the whole sacrificial idea, as seen carried out in the slaughter of animals on the altar of the temple, or in the death of a Jesus as a supposed sacrifice for man!

And this passage from the prophet Micah: "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God?

* * He hath showed thee, Oh man, what is good. And what doth the Lord require of thee, but—[to hide behind blood, of beast or of Christ?—No, that is *Mr. Moody's* theology; the *prophet's* theology is, What doth thy God require of thee but] *to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?*" In this way—by a pure heart and a right life, and not by sacrificial offerings—are men justified with God, and saved. Again, the prophet Isaiah writes: "Say ye to the righteous, It shall be well with him; for he shall eat the fruit [not of another's atonement, but] of his own doings. Woe to the wicked, it shall be ill with him, for the work of his hands [not his failure to accept another's finished work as a substitute for his, but] the work of his *own hands* shall be repaid him."

Coming to the New Testament, this passage from the Apostle James is suggestive, particularly so because it is the only definition of religion given in the Bible. Says the Apostle, "Pure and undefiled religion before God is"—what? to

"Lay your deadly doing down,
Down all at Jesus' feet?
To stand in him, in him alone,
All glorious and complete?"

Very far from that. "Pure religion before God is, to visit the widow and the fatherless in their affliction, and to keep one's self—ones character and life—untarnished in the world."

Not less emphatic as a rebuke of the popular scheme of salvation is this passage from St. Peter: "In every nation, he that feareth God and worketh righteousness [not he that putteth his trust in the righteousness of another, but he that feareth God and *himself* worketh righteousness] is accepted of God."

But it is when we come to Jesus, and his teachings as seen in the gospels, that we find the most powerful, repeated and overwhelming rebukes, given to the evangelical scheme of salvation. Nowhere does Jesus teach that men are to be saved by accepting his merits, or by appropriating his righteousness, or by washing in his blood.

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Everywhere he teaches that being good and doing good are the things that save. And did he not know, if he was himself the Savior? How is it then that our theologians in these later centuries have grown so much wiser than he? How is it that if he came into the world on purpose to save men, he neglected to let men know what salvation consists in, or how to avail themselves of it?

We have what purports to be a long sermon from him—the Sermon on the Mount. It is, the most extended of all his utterances. But this so far from saying anything about salvation by atonement, or substitution of another's righteousness, is full of such utterances as, "Blessed are the pure in heart, [not, blessed are they who believe in the purity of another, but blessed are they who are themselves pure in heart], for they shall see God."

He teaches his disciples to pray, and gives them a model prayer to use always. What does it contain? Does it contain, first of all, a petition that they may have part in the atoning sacrifice which he is to make for the world? Surely it would, if this was to be the way, and the only way, of salvation. But it begins, "Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name," and runs on simply and naturally through, without ever an intimation that he had ever heard or dreamed of any such atoning sacrifice, or salvation based on such a sacrifice.

Among the various parables that he utters, he gives one on purpose to teach the relation of this world to the next. What does he represent that relation to be? This: He that does well here, receives a reward there; he that does badly here, suffers there. But if our theology of to-day is true, the man who *believes*, not the one who does well, will get the next world reward, and he that fails to *believe* not he that does ill, will suffer yonder.

Does any one right here call my attention to that passage in the last chapter of Mark, where Jesus is represented as declaring, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned?" I reply, the *true* gospel of Mark contains no such passage. Scholars have long known the passage to be spurious. The editors of the Revised Version point out the fact that the oldest and best manuscripts leave out all that part of the chapter in which it is found.

At one time a young man comes to Jesus and asks him squarely the question, "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?" How does Jesus answer? Does he say, "Thou shall believe in my atoning sacrifice?" or "Thou shalt trust in the saving efficacy of my blood?"

Nothing of the kind. He answers, "Keep the Commandments. Thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not kill; thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Now why does Jesus reply in that way? Is it to mislead and deceive the young man? It must have been, if the popular theology is true.

At one time in his ministry Jesus puts forth a parable to show how God forgives the repentant wrong doer. A prodigal son goes away, and spends his substance in riotous living. At last he repents and comes back. Does the father require a propitiation, or a sacrifice for him, before he will receive him. Does he say to the elder brother, If you will let me punish you in his place, then I will for your sake forgive him? Not so. He wants no such heartless mockery or pretense. The father hastens to meet the repentant son while yet he is a great way off, and forgives him with tears of joy, with no hint of the need of a third party to suffer in order to make it possible to forgive.

To mention only one more example. In an extended passage in the 25th of Matthew, Jesus declares explicitly who will be saved—and in a way forever to settle, it would seem, even if there were nothing else, the question of whether it is the merit of another, or the good deeds of one's self, that are to win heaven. "Then the King," we read, "in the great day when he shall have gathered all nations before him for judgment, shall say to them on his right hand, Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world; for,"—for what? "For, you accepted the atoning sacrifice? believed in the scheme of redemption preached to you in most of the churches down there in the world?" No, not that by a good deal. "Then the King shall say, Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world; for, I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat; I was a stranger, and ye took me in: naked and ye clothed me; I was sick and ye visited me: I was in prison and ye came unto me. Then shall the righteous answer him, saying: Lord, when saw we thee an hungered and fed thee? or thirsty, and gave thee drink? When saw we thee sick, or in prison and came unto thee? And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

Much more awaits to be said on this point. Enough, however, has now been presented, at least to give some idea of how strong and weighty is the testimony of the Bible as a whole, but especially

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a believer in God, I should consider it useless,

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the testimony of Jesus, against the current theory of sacrificial salvation, and in favor of salvation by character, or good deeds.

But, if the commonly taught scheme of salvation (that scheme of salvation which saves an orthodox Guiteau, but cannot save a heterodox Emerson) is thus contrary to the weight of teaching in the Bible, not less is it contrary to reason and sound morals. Let us for a few moments hold it up for examination in the light of reason and justice, as we have done in the light of scripture. To be saved by the righteousness or merit of another—instead of by one's own—what do justice and reason say about it?

First, they say it is contemptible to be willing to accept such a salvation. Any man whose feelings of self respect and manhood are what they ought to be, will say, "Let me go through this world, and through all worlds, on my own merits. And where I cannot go passing for just what I am worth, let me not go at all. I do not believe in deadheadism on earth; I do not see how it will be any more respectable in heaven."

Second, salvation by the merits and righteousness of another, blunders, makes mistakes, and often saves the wrong man. What do I mean? Let me see. A man murders another. The murderer, before the day of his execution, repents and accepts Christ as his savior, and goes from the gallows to heaven. But the poor murdered man, what of him? He was murdered suddenly; and not having had time to wrap the garment of Christ's righteousness around him, he is lost. Thus we have—what? We have the murderer in heaven, and the innocent victim in hell. Don't you see that there is a blunder here? Don't you see that your scheme of salvation has saved the wrong man?

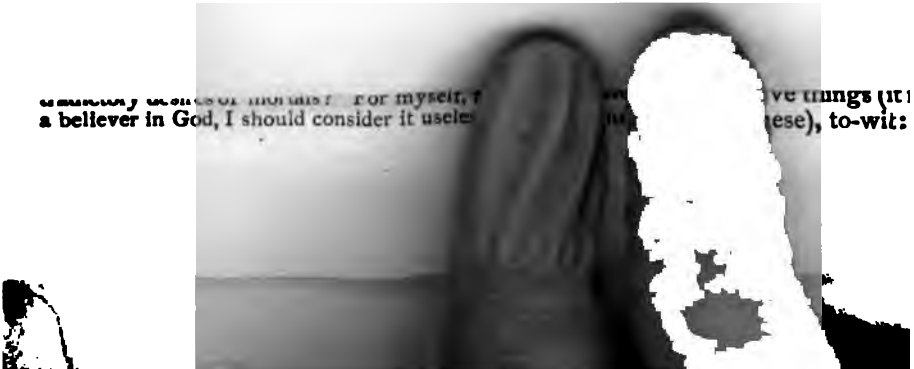
Third, vicarious salvation is irrational and absurd. Talk, as the theologians do, about Christ "becoming sin" for men; there is no meaning in your words. Talk about transference of guilt or righteousness from one being to another; You only say words that convey no possible thought. As well talk of one person becoming happy for another. I know it is said that the sinner actually *becomes* righteous, by trusting in Christ's righteousness. But as well say that a man can become learned by trusting in another's learning. "Vicarious" knowledge is quite as possible as "vicarious" righteousness; "imputed" geometry or Latin as "imputed" guilt or holiness. Suppose that Christ's righteousness is "imputed" or "counted" to me; that does not affect my character. It is just a *play* that I am righteous. That is, it is a sham. I am *treated as if* I were

righteous; that is, I am not punished for my sins. But all the while my sins remain, they are not removed; they are not annihilated; such a thing were impossible. Simply, an arrangement has been entered into whereby there is a general agreement to pretend that I am righteous when I am not. I am permitted to parade in the livery of another. The only real change in me is, that to whatever badness I had before there is now added self-deceit, and very probably pride and Pharisaism. Thus bursts the bubble of salvation by atonement, as soon as we press it with a little reason. What kind of a heaven would a heaven full of vicariously atoned for persons be? Who would not rather be in hell with honest Darwin, and Emerson, who scorn to wear any robe of righteousness that is not their own, than in a heaven filled with men, *good by proxy*?

Fourth, the popular scheme of salvation is unjust, in that it makes provision for the salvation of only a small part of the race, and leaves all the rest to perish, and through no fault of themselves? Do you say that Christ died for all, and that all are invited to accept his salvation and live? I reply, an essential part of the Orthodox Scheme is, that they and they only who *believe* can be saved. But a large part of the human race cannot believe because they know nothing about the thing to be believed. They have never heard of Christ. Probably fully three quarters of the people now living on the earth, are entirely ignorant both of Christ and the scheme of redemption which he is supposed to have consummated. And in the past a larger part still have been thus ignorant. But to hang the eternal fate of untold millions—heaven and hell for a majority of the race—upon a condition which they could not know about and therefore could not meet, is an injustice, which one may well hesitate to lay upon God. Nor is the scheme one that *simply* makes God unjust, it also makes him a most pitiful bungler. It is an absurd, impossible, blundering, *as well as* unjust, affair, all through. It shows by its very nature that it had its origin in an age when notions of justice were low and crude, and when men's conceptions of God were very imperfect and childish. The Fall of the Race part of the scheme shows God outwitted by the Devil, and his original plan for the race broken up before it had hardly begun. The Eternal Hell part of the scheme shows God—what shall I say? Yes, a *monster*; for nothing that the human mind can conceive, is so monstrous as the creation of a race with the purpose, or even the knowledge beforehand, that the majority of them were to spend eternity in hell. The Atonement part, or the Death of Christ part, of the

... a believer in God, I should consider it useless

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scheme, does not help matters more than in the lamest kind of a way, for it reaches only a few comparatively, and those whom it does reach it saves with only a very bungling, make believe, and really impossible salvation.

Thus we see, that the popular scheme of salvation fails quite as completely when brought to the test of reason and conscience, as when tried by the teachings of Jesus and the Bible. The fact is it does not stand *any test*. It only lives because people believe it without question. Its great word is *believe*. And no wonder. As long as people are content just to believe, and do not reason or investigate, it can maintain itself; but when light and reason come in, its absurdity and injustice immediately appear. It is a thing born in a darker age. Our age of increasing light has got beyond it. We should let it die, and peacefully bury it out of sight with belief in witches, and a personal devil, and alchemy, and such like things which

"Have had their day and ceased to be."

What then shall we say about Emerson and Darwin and Peter Cooper and Lincoln and Goy. Bagley and Rice A. Beal, and all the rest who have rejected this salvation and trusted to a salvation by good deeds? We have simply to say, they have rejected a shadow, to grasp a reality. In giving up the currently believed scheme of redemption, they only gave up a notion, that never had any substance of fact. That scheme never saved any body, and therefore it could not have saved them, even if they had believed it and trusted to it. True, millions have dreamed in the past, and millions of others are dreaming to-day, of salvation by it, but sooner or later they must find their mistake. Ever the voices of Jesus and the old prophets, sound down the ages, if we will hear them, chiming in with the deepest voices of your reason and conscience, and every man's, declaring, "What a man soweth, that shall he reap." For his own self must every human being answer. And no other, not even the great teacher and martyr of Nazareth, nor an angel, nor God himself, reverently I say it, can answer for him. God can help us; we can help one another; but so far as his own accountability is concerned every man must walk on his own feet through this world, and into the next. If he has sinned he must suffer for it; not outrageously, and inhumanly—a penalty arbitrary and out of all proportion to the sin; but justly, the natural and necessary penalty which in the nature of things attaches to the wrong doing.

And if he has done a good deed, of this he shall just as certainly reap the reward.

This was Emerson's religion; this was Darwin's religion; this was the religion of the rest. This is more and more coming to be the religion of thoughtful men and women everywhere. And compared with it, how childish seem all salvations by substitutions, and bargains, and transference of merits, and washings of blood, and such like things!

This then is our answer to the question with which we set out, Who are saved? All good, true men are saved. Their goodness *is* salvation.

Are any lost? Yes, doubtless, in the degree that they are bad. But none are wholly bad, and therefore none can be wholly lost. Indeed all men have in them, if we get down to it, incomparably more of good than evil. And that means that whatever future awaits them beyond this world, will be one bright with hope.

What is it to be saved? That is the great thing we need to learn. It isn't from an eternal hell of torments. There can be no such eternal torment dungeon; else the Ruler of this universe is a demon, and not a God worthy of your worship or mine. To be really saved is not to be saved from any external thing. It is to be saved from ourselves, to ourselves—from our lower, poorer, baser selves, to our higher, finer, nobler selves. Salvation is health. To get physically full of health is physical salvation. To get intellectually full of health is intellectual salvation. To get strong and vigorous in moral and spiritual health, is moral and spiritual salvation. Patience is salvation. Hope is salvation. Love is salvation. Virtue is salvation. Character is salvation. Manhood is salvation. And of *these* kinds, *real* salvation, all the men whom we are considering to-night, spent their lives in laying up rich and abundant store. They are therefore saved, and with a salvation infinitely better worth your attention and mine, and your effort and mine, than the fictitious salvation of the creeds.

Before concluding, I ought, perhaps, to say a word about the question: Why is it that orthodox ministers, at the funerals of such men as these whom we have been mentioning, so often send them to heaven? I Answer, it is because these ministers are kindly and sympathetic; because their hearts are better than their theology; because in the sorrow and deep feeling of the hour, the *man* in them speaks, and compels the *theologian* to be still. But we should not forget that such utterances, creditable as they are to the minister's

...desires of the world, or myself, as to me the following live
a believer in God, I would not think it useless, more, but it means these

hearta, are direct contradictions of the regular, weekly, hundred times over repeated teachings of their Sunday pulpits. If the doctrines which every soundly orthodox preacher in this country preaches habitually in his pulpit, and is hired by his church to preach, and has taken solemn vows to preach, are true, then none of these men whom we have been talking about to-night are saved : and no preacher therefore, however kind his heart may be, has a right to stand up at a funeral and contradict his Sunday utterances, and mislead the people, by preaching them into heaven.

I close by reminding you, that every church in this city, except the one within whose walls you are assembled now, stands *logically* and *really* for Darwin in hell, and Emerson in hell, and Peter Cooper in hell, and Gov. Bagley in hell, and Rice A. Beal in hell!

There is no minister in this city, except him who is now addressing you, who can consistently and without being false to the religious doctrine that he represents before the world, take the hand of weeping wife, or child, or friend of any of these honored men, and pointing upward, say, "Dry your tears. Be sure it is well with your loved ones." But the rational and beautiful religious faith for which this church stands, and this pulpit exists, bids its minister say just these comforting words—bids its minister proclaim a salvation of character, and not a salvation of vicarious atonements—bids me say to you who are before me now: If you would be saved, with a salvation that is real and worth having, be true men; be noble women; follow conscience; do duty; be your best selves:

" Fill up each hour with what will last ;
Buy up the moments as they go ;
The life above, when this is past,
Is the ripe fruit of life below.

Sow love, and taste its fruitage pure ;
Sow peace, and reap its harvest bright ;
Sow sunbeams on the rock and moor,
And find a harvest-home of light."

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CONCERNING PRAYER.

(I) SHALL WE PRAY?

BY J. T. SUNDERLAND

I have just received a letter of a kind that I suppose most Unitarian ministers (and perhaps other ministers) receive many of. It is from a gentleman of much intelligence and independence of thought, expressing his disapproval of prayer, and his surprise that I, with my idea of God as a Being who conducts the on-goings of the world in orderly ways, can do anything so plainly unreasonable as to pray. Since this question, whether or not persons who believe in law and order in the universe may consistently pray, troubles many earnest minds, I send you a few lines from the letter mentioned, with my answer (such as it is) to the same. Very likely what I have written will not help any one, and yet possibly it may. I should, perhaps, say further, by way of explanation, that the letter received was called out by its author's reading a sermon of mine on "the Higher Conception of God."

"Believing, as you do, in that higher and rational conception of God set forth in your discourse, and entertained, I suppose, by most modern Unitarians, may I ask how you can believe in prayer? Is it not immoral to pray to an all-wise and unchangeable being, whose plans are as determined and as unchangeable as gravity,—and not to be moved by the contradictory desires of mortals? For myself, as a believer in God, I should consider it useless,

and a kind of insult to Deity. I really think that, in the future, prayers will be omitted from church services, and given up generally, as inconsistent with a belief in the order of the universe. I think the time is coming when the work of the minister will be to preach physics,"—etc., etc.

I felt that I ought to reply to the letter. What I said was in substance as follows:

As I look at it, the higher and more rational conception of God which is coming into many minds, and which Unitarianism is trying as well as it can to stand for, instead of making prayer less reasonable, makes it more reasonable and beautiful. Only we need to have the higher and more rational conception of *prayer* as well as of *God*. When you write what you do, are you not thinking of prayer under the old *low* and *poor* conception of begging and importuning God to change his mind for our sake, and do for us what he does not want to do, and would not do but for our begging? But this comes no nearer what I (and, I suppose, Unitarians generally) mean by prayer, than does the old idea of God, as an arbitrary ruler on a heavenly throne, to what we mean by God. Prayer means to me the following five things (it means more, but it means these), to-wit:

1. Reverence (or worship), of a Being worthy of reverence and worship.

2. Thankfulness or gratitude, to the great Source of all life, light, love and blessing.

3. Love, to One whom I believe to be worthy of my highest love.

4. Confidence and trust, in Him whom I believe to be the Infinite Power, Wisdom and Goodness over me and over the world.

5. Uplooking, yearning, aspiration, after higher attainments in character and life; the soul's upreaching towards that perfection which it sees symbolized in God.

Surely all this must commend itself as rational and good to every thoughtful, earnest believer in God. Does it not so seem to you? If so, then you see we have a large and very noble field open for prayer, entirely *aside from petition or asking for things*, at all. And if we should analyze the prayers of Unitarian ministers generally, or thoughtful men and women, not ministers, holding Unitarian views, I suppose we should find that, as a matter of fact, by far the larger part of the utterances of which these prayers are made up, fall under one or another of these heads,—expressions of *reverence, gratitude, love, trust or aspiration*.

I think it is only when we come to the small part of prayer which consists in *petition, or asking for things*, that you and I would not agree. And even here I am rather disposed to think we should agree, if we really understood each other.

I hope you do not think that I ever ask for things in my prayers, desiring to put my poor wisdom (or folly) in the place of the Higher Wisdom; or wishing God to do what I ask, *unless it is best*. On the contrary, if I thought my prayers could have such an effect, I should never dare to pray again. Every true prayer couples with its every petition an expressed or implied "Nevertheless, not my will, but thine, be done." It only asks that such or such things may be, *if they are best* in the sight of the Higher Wisdom.

But you say, if you want only those things to take place which are wise and best, why pray at all? For will God not do what is wisest and best anyhow, even without your asking? To this I answer:

1. I, as a human parent, always try to do what is wisest and best for my little children, whether they ask for it or not; but, all the same, I am glad to have them come and *tell me their wants*. It gives them pleasure to do it; it draws them nearer to me in confidence and trust and love, to do it; and it gives me real happiness to have them do it. Now I believe it is exactly so, only more so still, between us poor, weak, short-sighted, erring men and women, and our wise, kind, loving Heavenly Father. I believe that for us to go to him in the spirit of loving, trusting children, and tell him our sorrows and wants, cannot but be well pleasing to him, as I am sure it is also very cheering, strengthening and helpful to us. And if so, then surely this part of prayer also must be thoroughly rational.

2. Then again, I think there are some blessings which, in the very nature of the case, God can not give to us, or, in other words, which can not be received by us from God, no matter how willing he may be to grant them, until we put ourselves in a mental attitude or condition to receive them. And prayer, the opening of our hearts, the uplifting of our desires to God, puts us in such a mental condition. Just as, in the morning of a bright day, the sun may shine outside ever so brightly, but if we do not open our window blinds it cannot shine into our rooms, so we must open our minds and hearts, so to speak, by earnest thought, and aspiration, and up-looking desire, to God, or else we are not in a condition to receive any highest gifts and blessings of God's spirit, love and peace.

This is the way it seems to me. And now, as you look at it further, and thoughtfully, and from this standpoint, does it not seem to you so, too? If I am right in this, then you see prayer (according to this *higher conception* of

prayer) is in *every* aspect entirely rational, as well as something very sweet, uplifting and helpful.

I join with you in hearty appreciation of physics and all science. I feel sure that in the future men are going to believe in and study science and Nature a great deal more than they have done in the past. And I have no doubt that the old idea of prayer, as a begging of God to set aside wise laws to accommodate puny and often foolish men, will more and more fade away as men grow wiser. But I think that all this will only prepare the way for *true* prayer,—that prayer which seeks to get the highest spiritual good by conforming to the highest spiritual laws of our nature. This kind of prayer, I think, we shall no more outgrow than we shall outgrow hope, or love, or gratitude, or aspiration, or reverence, or the sense of dependence on a Higher Power, or the need, in our weakness and sorrow, of comfort and strength from some source higher than our poor selves.

Instead of universal law cutting us off from access to God and communication with him, it seems to me it brings us into a hundred times closer relation

to him. It fills the whole universe with him—with his presence, his power, his wisdom, and his goodness. For what is law? Only one form of the manifestation of God—a God who is too great, and wise, and beneficent to be arbitrary or fickle, or deal with the world otherwise than in an orderly way, which intelligent creatures like man can find out, and depend upon and trust.

Thus, I think, as we get away from the old, lower views, and come to understand the higher conception of prayer which corresponds with the higher conception of God, it becomes clear that religion has nothing about it that is more perfectly rational, and certainly nothing about it that is more uplifting, and in the profoundest way helpful, to weak, erring, and sorrow-laden human beings than prayer,—the communion of the earthly child with the heavenly parent,—the carrying of our little cups of heart-need and spirit-need to the great Fountain to get them filled,—the reaching up, when we are weak or sad, and laying hold of the Infinite Source of strength and joy, which is forever above us.

(2) WHAT DOES PRAYER DO FOR US?

BY C. F. DOLE.

... We have thus ruled out as irreligious the idea of prayer as a shorter way to get what God has made to depend upon work, thought, and natural means, or as a method of supplementing inferior character or narrower intelligence. We have ruled out as irreligious the idea of prayer as constituting a difference in God's favor between men; otherwise equally just, true, energetic and worthy. We have ruled out the idea as irreligious, that the words and forms of prayer affect and influence God. Let us see now what purely rational elements in prayer we have left.

[Beginning at the lowest and most common element in prayer, it is spoken of, first, as the natural utterance of our want; next, as the utterance of our reverence; of our aspiration;

of our unselfishness. And, as probably its highest function, it involves adjustment of one's self to the facts of Nature and one's lot; "it is as though a man were a single instrument in a great orchestra, and prayer is the getting into tune."]

We have risen now to an ideal of prayer which is sufficiently worthy, and also indisputably rational. In prayer, you enter into the wholesome mood of reverence, a mood true to the facts of your life; you aspire after the best examples of noble living; you take the whole brotherhood of man into your enlarged sympathies; you adjust your will into the nicest harmony with the facts, the requirements and the laws of life; and in this ideal mood, combined of peace, unselfishness, aspiration, and reverent feeling, you lay out before you and consider all the desires of your

heart. You distinguish between real wants and false; the real wants grow stronger, and you see with new clearness what to do. It is not Nirvana into which you have entered, in which consciousness is quenched and desires cease; but you have thrown yourself into complete connection with the heart-throb of the universe; you are stirred with its life; you are desiring with its great desires; you are working out its work, and move with its rhythmical movement. . . .

I want you to see that the idea of prayer which we have reached is something more than the reflex action of the mind on itself, as though a man were lifting himself in a basket. But there is something real, outside of one's self, in which the thoughts of prayer find their natural reaction. It is at every point the sense of a grandeur and power outside one's self, of ideals above one's self, of sympathies touching the whole world, of work to be accomplished, and far-reaching purposes, through which we are moved to pray. It is the motion of our spirits to go out into actual relations beyond and above themselves. A faith, very simple indeed, but real, underlies our prayer, that there is something by which, if we can bring ourselves into connection with it, life will be fuller, more harmonious. So much of faith is implied in science, which supposes a ground of some sort of intelligible reality in its studies. So much of faith is implied in all schemes of philanthropy, in which the individual thinker and worker believes himself to be working out universal laws of progress, who would despair, if he did not think that the spirit of the universe worked toward progress, and that he was on the winning side. So in all the highest movements of feeling, man goes out of himself in sublime quest of something grander to which his life belongs.

We are prepared now to go further, and say that prayer accomplishes something. The attitude which it involves is the attitude of the greatest success. It is the attitude in which all friction of

obstacle outside or anxiety within is reduced to its minimum, and all things work together to help you. It is the attitude of seriousness, earnestness, and sensitiveness, in which one's best promptings and clearest thoughts come. The fact is, you are using in prayer a series of powerful natural means. The intent and eager fixing of the mind upon a thing, as we have already seen, is one of the sequences which are made to lead to the realization of that particular thing. It is undoubtedly the common element in all the curious stories of faith-cures. We have never found out how far, by some species of subtle telegraphy, by some pull which mind has on mind, this intentness of will, required by prayer, may reach. . . .

I said that it would be prayer if we did not say, "God"; if we simply let out our highest feelings, thoughts and endeavors; if we only said, "We want health and life and goodness," and did not say, "Give Thou these things;" and if we simply came into harmony with the moral order of the universe. I said that this would be rational and useful. But these impressive moral facts which we have stated do not leave us content to stop and say, Nature, but draw us on to say, Thought; do not leave us content to say the Universe, but draw us on to say Spirit; do not leave us content with the abstraction of a Moral Order, but draw us on to conceive of a Life into fellowship with which we come. For what is an eternal moral order, except as it presupposes an eternal life? or what is an infinite universe, except as a revelation of infinite thought? Use words we must. The word "God," besides being dear by use, sums up our thought that the ultimate fact or power into whose unity everything is bound up is alive, is intelligible, is righteous, and loves. True, all these words are make-shifts. How could they be anything else? But Reason not only does not forbid them, but calls them out of our whole vocabulary, and assures us that we have come short, at the best, of comprehending Him 'who is all.'

Suppose now, under that idea of prayer, as the utterance of our desires and aspirations, and the loftiest mood of reverence, sympathy and peace, we frankly recognize what that idea seems always to have contained and suggested,—the thought of the presence of the infinite life of God; that, as we look out on the mystery of being, we see it throbbing with his life; as we enter into the moral order, that we are conscious of the divine fellowship; admit that our desires are his inspiration; as we express and work out every honest and healthy desire, let us think of ourselves both as drawing upon his resources and as co-workers with him; suppose that our best intentions are recognized as the attuning of our wills into harmony with the infinite will. Suppose thus that prayer is conceived as the thinking, willing, feeling, working, being, in unison with the Life of which we partake. . . .

This brings me to say that we pray on the authority of our own experiences. Reason puts down the barriers. Reason says, Pray, if you feel inclined; and, then, feeling comes surging up to utter itself. All sorts of life experiences are only half complete, unless they go out into prayer. Our troubles and disappointments, the great sacraments, as they have been called, of marriage, birth and death, our delight in nature and music, the impulses of popular and patriotic feeling sweeping over us, the stories of heroism, the sudden dangers which bring us up with a start,—all such experiences move us to prayer, and are never so rich as when they most completely merge themselves in the purifying spirit of prayer. Then our burdens seem shared, man's toil and pain seem interpreted, and indefinite access of vigor, courage, and thought seems to flow in, as though indeed God were speaking to his children, and actual connection were made between our finite

spirits and the universal life. Prayer thus seems, at least in those moments when we must truly pray, like the sweetest symphony to soothe and to inspire.

This is not all. However much prayer did for us, if, when we had prayed, it left our reason obscured or made us less loyal to truth, however precious it was, we should hold ourselves bound to give it up. On the contrary, in the attitude of prayer, we see truths, facts and relations with clearer than usual sight, and we never love truth so much or are nearer being ready to die for it; while as for all virtuous, courageous and efficient action, as we have already seen, the mood of prayer is that in which we should like always to live.

Finally, I do not see how anything which can be said about prayer should be overwhelmingly convincing, except as one's prepossessions are directed, at least, toward the moral interpretation of life. The whole argument of religion has been lifted above the old level of outward and miraculous evidences, and rests upon what we think the impregnable basis of the moral facts, the moral history, and the moral nature of man. But it is idle to talk to men about a moral order in the universe, who acknowledge no such moral order within. Let us, then, who love to pray, and want our children to pray, while teaching them the simple forms of words underneath which the habit and spirit of actual prayer are developed, be even more patient to train them in stanch and truthful habits of character. For, if they once love honest character above everything else, their own life experience may be trusted to lead them up from the prattling of childhood, with its "Now I lay me down to sleep," to the most exalted form of devotion and Jesus' sublime thought, "Thy will be done."

(3) HOW PRAY?

BY W. C. GANNETT.

A prayer is like one of those trailing vines that flower up out of the earth in a foot or two of leaves and blossoms, and then hasten to hide themselves again in the ground and get a fresh root for a new growth. A prayer is but a few words of aspiration thus blossoming out between the roots of resolve or feeling; the intensest act almost that one can do a true prayer is, and yet an utterly natural act, your nature at its best. An act, I say, yet rather a surprise, a self-forgetting, when it passes into words. Nothing so hard; nothing so easy. Spontaneous, if the conditions are fulfilled; impossible, when not.

How pray? In the simplest, child-like, thinking yet unthinking, way. Prayer has not the same utterance for all ages, nor for all temperaments. Some mothers kiss their children often, some but seldom; with some persons what is within leaps to the outside through tone, word, look, gesture; with others never through gesture, little through look, hardly through word, but deeply, steadily through silent deeds and motherliness. These latter are unfortunate: a nature quick and healthy and well rounded, with all its powers in play, *shows* itself easily, spontaneously, by many outlets. But let us be ourselves in this matter, not afraid of ourselves. Not afraid to let our feelings out,—and is not that fear the whole reason why many do not pray? And, on the other hand, let us not try to bring them out in any forced, unnatural, *other-person's* way.

How begin to pray? Start from the last thought, the last sight, the last feeling, just as it lies there in you, and from that look up, look in, and speak, or think, till thought breaks into speech of itself. What *name* to use? Any name that seems truest at the moment—Father, Mother, Friend, Thou Good One, O Heart of All, Thou dear and holy Nature. In what form is God standing most visible to your feeling? *That* is his true name for you at the

moment. And *what to say?* "Thank you, Father," if that feeling. "I trust you, Father," is the feeling. "I am ashamed of you, Father,"—"I long to be nearer, and with a clearer and constant sense to see thee in everything, and work with thee in little deed,"—if these are the feelings.

And *when to stop* our prayer the feeling tell you when. Stop it stops. Stop gradually, perhaps feelings do. Does *Amen* finish thinking? But do not try to direct your thought. Remember that within, that Inner Self, is on terms with your sincerity. There be long prayers without one word praying,—the real touch. Sometimes one word, one minute from the heart—that is the whole heart of your prayer. The rest might have been spared indeed you could not have come out of it save through this rest. Sometimes the words may sing themselves with repeats, as if to music. And sometimes, especially one grows older,—the words wane away almost to silence. "You young ones," said an old negro auntie, "young ones make too much noise in your Glory and your Hallelu! you've got the *real* grace, the glory, you will feel so quiet and like,—just as if you were in the manger at Bethlehem, and the mother had you the sleeping babe to hold!" Perhaps the words will hardly rise above a happy, living silence, in which you find yourself adrift. It is possible to be so prayer-full you cannot, not, speak. And then, perhaps a place of words your own, some verse will come chanting through your mind, or some quiet hymn, like that from Coleridge, will glide in to prelude to your rest:

"Ere on my bed my limbs I lay,
It hath not been my use to pray
With moving lips or bended knees
But silently, by slow degrees,
My spirit I to Love compose;
In perfect trust mine eyelids close

And reverential resignation,
No wish conceived, no thought expressed!
Only a *sense* of supplication,
A sense o'er all my soul impressed,
That I am weak, yet not unblest,
Since in me, round me, everywhere,
Eternal Strength and Wisdom are."

How good it is to pass from that happy, *conscious* trust into the happy unconscious trust of Sleep and the Night!

And how good it is in the fresh morning light, before fresh duties, pleasures, trials of the day, to bathe's one's self again in conscious consecration before we go out into the quick, active hours!

And how good to feel doors open, now and then, right in some simple duty of the day, at which we can stand for one moment, look out, and see the fresh and friendly God all around, and then go back with a new heart to work! This is prayer.

And how good, in days of trial, weakness, sorrow, to feel our way along some foot-path of old words to the hills of peace and strength; or to foreknow, amid a darkened week, that next Sunday's hymn and the friend's prayer after it, however wide his sermon stray, will be sure to bring a moment in the sun-light!

And now, should our feeling run naturally into the mould of *asking*, nothing can make it wrong to let it take that way, although most certainly it is not logical. But we are not at logic. We do not mean it for deliberate petition, for we are not deliberating. Almost inevitably it sometimes *will* so run: "Father, forgive me, help me, guide me!" we say. And with many no other way will ever be so natural. But with others, as their new thought of God more and more shapes their feeling of his presence and relationship to them, the petition-form even for spiritual blessings will simply and gradually and naturally fall from their prayer, as bud-scales drop when leaves and blossoms come; and the blossom will be simple words of trust and praise and thankfulness and shame and longing and communion.

But who can tell another what to pray? Who can pray *with* others even,

save as, in sympathy, he feels that he himself *is* those others and his one thought interprets many hearts? Only so is public prayer a natural self-expression; but *so* it is most natural. The minister never goes out from himself, or never should, but he tries to take all his friends into himself. He *is* those young men sitting there with their life-dreams and temptations; *is* those maidens sitting there in theirs; *is* those mothers thinking of their children, and those fathers thinking still of business and knowing very well whether that business has been honorable or dishonorable this past week; and so it is not for them, but for *himself in them, them in himself*, that he offers prayer. And thus what perhaps seems, until tried, formal and unnatural, is as natural as any other piece of self-forgetting; yes, and is joy, like any self-forgetting. The only trial about it is that so much self-confession is immodesty; and that sometimes *is* felt as trial.

Pardon one word more. Say, or think, "grace" in your home! But if you do not, ask not your minister, when he comes, to say it: there is more of etiquette than reverence in that, and such etiquette is irreverence. Even if you do say grace, still be *slow* to ask him to; keep that privilege withheld till he is very dear to you. The thanksgiving, so beautiful when said by father, mother, children, at the moment when all come together and the home is most the home,—the word which, so said, or which, unsaid in the Quaker's reverent way of silence, turns the common dinner into a household sacrament,—that word loses part of the beauty of its meaning, when you lightly ask another to say it for you. It is a *household* sacrament. The beauty of it is that you administer it in your home, I in mine. And the stranger's privilege is sufficient that he is permitted to be present at it. As a stranger, I should as soon expect to kiss your children good-night for you as to say grace for you. But it is good sometimes, when they are dear, to kiss those children *with* you.

(4) SONGS OF TRUST.

"Allah, Allah!" cried the sick man, racked
with pain the long night through;
Till with prayer his heart was tender, till his
lips like honey grew.

But at morning came the Tempter; said, "Call
louder, child of pain!
See if Allah ever hear, or answer, 'Here am
I,' again."

Like a stab the cruel cavil through his brain
and pulses went;
To his heart an icy coldness, to his brain a
darkness, sent.

Then before him stands Elias; says, "My
child! why thus dismayed?
Dost repent thy former fervor? Is thy soul
of prayer afraid?"

"Ah!" he cried, "I've called so often; never
heard the 'Here am I';
And I thought, God will not pity, will not
turn on me his eye."

Then the grave Elias answered, "God said,
'Rise, Elias, go—
Speak to him, the sorely tempted; lift him
from his gulf of woe.

'Tell him that his very longing is itself an
answering cry;
That his prayer, 'Come, gracious Allah!' is
my answer, 'Here am I.'"

Every inmost aspiration is God's angel un-
defiled;
And in every "O my Father!" slumbers deep
a "Here, my child!"

From Tholuck, by James Freeman Clarke.

Lord, what a change within us one short
hour
Spent in thy presence will avail to make!
What heavy burdens from our bosoms take,
What parched grounds refresh, as with a
shower!
We kneel, and all, the distant and the near

Stands forth in sunny outline, brave and
clear.

We kneel, how weak! We rise, how full of
power!

Why, therefore, should we do ourselves this
wrong,

Or others,—that we are not always strong,
That we are ever overborne with care,
That we should ever weak or heartless be,
Anxious or troubled, when with us is prayer,
And joy and strength and courage is with
thee?

R. L. Trench.

No words of labored prayer I know,—
I cannot seek my Father so;
It gushes up in sudden hours,
As sing the birds, as bloom the flowers.

And is it prayer? or is it praise?
I only know, in loving ways,
When joy and sorrow touch the springs,
To thee my spirit inly sings.

Away from forms I needs must turn;
No prayer have I that I must learn:
I ask but help to love thee more,
And thy dear will in peace adore.

Mrs. L. J. Hall.

I pray not, then, because I would,—
I pray because I must;
There is no meaning in my prayer
But thankfulness and trust.
And thou wilt hear the thought I mean,
And not the words I say;
Wilt hear the thanks among the words
That only seem to pray.

I would not have thee otherwise
Than what thou still must be;
Yea, thou art God, and what thou art
Is ever best for me.
And so, for all my sighs, my heart
Doth sing itself to rest,
O Love Divine, most far and near,
Upon thy faithful breast.

John W. Chadwick.

RELIGIOUS INSINCERITY,

—OR—

Christianity's Great and Growing Danger.

A SERMON PREACHED IN THE UNITARIAN CHURCH, ANN ARBOR, MICH., FEBRUARY 23D, 1879, BY

REV. J. T. SUNDERLAND.

"Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? He that speaketh the truth in his heart."—Hebrew Psalm.

"Only they who carry sincerity to the highest point, in whom there remains not a single hair's breadth of hypocrisy, can see the hidden spring of things."—Confucius.

"Old things are past away, behold all things are become new."—Saint Paul.

The last of the three texts which I have quoted is the record, not simply of a fact of Paul's time, but of a law of all time. Forever old things are passing away, and all things are becoming new, and in religion as well as in anything else. Indeed St. Paul's words were written with religion directly in mind.

Men's earliest conceptions of religion are necessarily crude and low, just as are his earliest conceptions of everything. And it is only by degrees—by a slow and more or less painful process, that he grows to higher and better conceptions. This is the invariable history of religion so far as we can trace religious history at all. All growth is a two-fold process—a putting off and a putting on, a surrendering and an acquiring. If the old things did not pass away all things could not become new; while on the other hand if all things were not becoming new there would be no reason for the passing away of the old, and no justification or compensation.

But this putting off of the old at the coming of the new is seldom or never accomplished without struggle—especially in religion. The old is almost never willing to yield and be cast aside. It clings eagerly to life, or if its life has really departed, then to a semblance of life. In other words it dies hard. We know how hard it was for the Jews in all their history to accept the higher and purer conceptions of truth which their great prophets from time to time declared in their hearing. We know how the lofty teachings of Jesus were resisted when he spoke against old low ideas of religion that were outgrown, and denounced old hypocrites and shams that ought to be laid aside.

When our friends by our side die, custom and law come in and command that we bury our dead out of our sight. But when crude theological systems and imperfect religious conceptions die, as necessarily they must with the growth of men's thought, there is no law to command us to bury our dead of this kind, and so as a fact, instead of burying them, we too generally imitate the foolish example of that people who when their king was dead em-

balled the body and set it on the throne, arrayed in the robes of royalty, with the crown on its head, and continued long to come and prostrate themselves before it, and say as of old, "Oh, King! live forever."

We know how long after the old pagan religions of Greece and Rome were in reality dead—that is, after they had ceased to be believed by all the more intelligent classes of the people, they continued to be guarded and upheld by the civil authorities, and clung to as if they were still living realities. Cicero tells us that in his day two priests could hardly meet in Rome and look in each other's faces without laughing to think of the great burlesque which they were playing, in keeping up the forms of religion which had become hollow, and in still professing to believe what at heart they did not believe any longer. But still they kept right on repeating the farce. Religious processions crowded the streets, sacrifices and ceremonies were assiduously observed, and altars and temples were multiplied. The old theologies—or as we call them mythologies—would not let go their hold upon man's sentiments, though they had lost their hold upon intelligent belief. The old religious institutions would not die; though in men's reason they had a thousand times over been beheaded and torn limb from limb. The old theology and the old religion stood for generations, a corpse dressed in festive attire, and its cheeks painted the hue of life—an edifice splendid on the outside and gay about its doorways with flowers, but every wall rotten and crumbling, and everything within damp with death.

There are many earnest and thoughtful people who believe that Christendom today is much in the condition of ancient Greece and Rome. The theologies that have held undisputed sway for many hundreds of years in Christian lands are irresistibly falling into decay. Every age has its long drawn out battle between the theologies and science, in which always at last science comes off victor. The best literature of almost every kind is fast growing broad and liberal. The *Zeit Geist*—the spirit of the age—smites much that is prominent and central in the old theologies, saying: "Lie down and die, and be buried, with the speculations and superstitions of a darker past;" while itself leads earnestly forward toward views of

God and man and religion more true and worthy. The divinest voices of our time are declaring that at least very many old things must pass away and very many things must become new.

Nor is there any occasion for alarm or regret in this, if only it be not resisted. The danger comes with resistance to this natural and necessary order—with the attempt to persuade ourselves that what is dead is not dead, and to keep it with us as if it were alive.

It is interesting to observe the different positions taken by religious people with reference to the transition from the old to a better new, which we are in the midst of. The people of Christendom who care for religion seem to be divided into three classes—first, those who see this transition to be something entirely natural and proper, and who therefore simply work to help it forward steadily and in right channels; second, those who believe it to be wrong and of the devil, and so who vigorously and consistently oppose it; and, third, those whose sympathies are really with the transition and the better new coming, and yet who, because they were born into the churches that still hold to the old dogmas, or because their friends and families still incline that way, or for some other reason, keep themselves still connected with the old. It is of this third class that I wish especially to speak this morning, viz: the class of persons who, believing with the first class, practice with the second; that is to say, who having grown away from belief in the old theology, yet continue to support the churches and institutions of that theology, and who, being in heart in sympathy with the new, do not identify themselves with the new, thus occupying a position in the community of essential religious insincerity.

I cannot but think that the existence of such a class in society is a grave religious danger; especially when that class is so large, and so fast on the increase as it seems to me everything goes to show that it is in Christian countries to-day.

There is always comparative safety everywhere, so long as men are sincere. Even if they are in error—thinking what is wrong and harmful, speaking what is wrong and harmful, and doing what is wrong and harmful, yet if they are sincere and honest, and really believe in such a thing as the true and the right, and want to attain to it, there is great hope for them. They will almost certainly sooner or later work their way out of the error and evil, and reach the better truth and the higher good at last. Or if not that, they will at least keep their own moral rectitude. But if men have lost their care for truth, and their belief in it; if they have come to the conclusion that truth and falsehood are all about the same thing any how, and that a lie well stuck to is about as good as a truth—that is to say, if they

have lost their genuine, downright sincerity, they have lost what nothing else in the world can make up for—they have lost the very capacity for moral worth and religion.

If, then, it be true, that religious insincerity is growing, and growing rapidly, all over the Christian world, as many of the most careful observers in all walks of life and of all shade of religious belief affirm, then truly here we have a danger so deep and real and fatal in its consequences that all earnest and thoughtful men and women may well be aroused, and may well hold in abeyance their consideration of other dangers—all in the very nature of the case trivial as compared with this—while they unite in an effort the most earnest possible to meet this.

But is religious insincerity really thus spreading—as is claimed—boring its way like a hidden worm through the religious thought and belief of the time?—eating out the heart of much of that genuine and honest religious conviction which existed in a former age, and without which religion becomes a sham and a pretense? Is it so?

The proof is certainly overwhelming that the intelligence of the time has to a very large extent drifted away from belief in the old theological scheme of orthodox christianity;—not simply away from this or that one of its incidental tenets, but clean and clear away from belief in the very fundamental postulates and central doctrines of the scheme. It cannot be said that the best intelligence of the time as a rule any longer believes in a literal Adam; or in any "fall of the race in Adam"; or in an eternal hell for all who do not pass through the experience which our orthodox friends call conversion; or in a large part of the human race elected and foreordained from all eternity to be lost; or in the very eternal and infinite God dwelling on the earth in the form of a man 33 years; or in a vicarious atonement as taught in the creeds; or in an infallible bible; or in a personal devil; or in a resurrection of the body; or, indeed, in any one of the fundamental doctrines of the orthodox scheme. And yet, tell me, is it not true that a large proportion of the people in this country and in most Christian countries who have thus in their own real belief left those old doctrines behind, still continue to profess them, to belong to churches founded upon them, to subscribe to creeds that are made up of them, to support preachers on purpose to preach them, to maintain Sunday schools on purpose to teach them, and in one way and another give their countenance and sanction to them?

Of course there are great numbers of unquestionably sincere people in all the churches, who honestly and earnestly believe in the doctrines of those churches as laid down in their creeds. And such persons are to be respected. Their beliefs

are to be treated with the utmost consideration. If we think their beliefs wrong then it is our right and our duty to do anything we can to try to convince them so, and to show them the better truth; but we must respect such really sincere believers for their sincerity, and accord to them just as hearty a Christian fellowship as if they were able to believe as we believe.

But it is not of this class that I speak. This is not the dangerous class. The dangerous class is that other class growing more numerous, I cannot but believe, every year, whose beliefs are one thing but their professions another, that is, whose beliefs are really liberal but whose professions continue to be orthodox.

A very powerful article appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* of October last, entitled "Certain Dangerous Tendencies in American Life." In that article, which attracted very wide attention, the writer says: "There are still of course many truly religious people in the churches, who sincerely believe the old doctrines embodied in all the creeds. But these are everywhere a small minority.

A very large class do not believe the creeds which they subscribe when they join the church, and generally make no secret afterwards of their doubt or disbelief respecting various fundamental doctrines of Christianity. But they have a horror of all dissent that takes them out of the popular church. * * * They are without the qualities or temper enabling a man to serve an unpopular principle or cause. In them the religion popularly professed has spent its force, and they can contribute little to aid the moral regeneration of the country.

Their ministers believe less than their people of the doctrines of their creeds. They generally avoid doctrinal subjects in their preaching, and have for some years based their teachings mostly upon utilitarian grounds. They have for themselves accepted rationalistic beliefs far in advance of what they teach. They consider themselves engaged in a most necessary and useful work—that of leading the people gradually onward in thought and knowledge by carefully giving them the truth as they are able to bear it. Their caution is extreme, and they thus sacrifice whatever of strength may belong to courage and outspoken sincerity. Their teaching is far less advanced and rationalistic than the habitual thought of their hearers. They do not understand the real tendencies of the time, lacking the insight and the synthetic judgment which result from independent search for truth and from heartiness of conviction. They generally overrate the success of their system of repression—of keeping back most of what they themselves believe. It fosters skepticism and spreads distrust of all mental and moral verity, as the people are aware that their ministers

practice the concealment of their real beliefs."

I might quote from many different sources testimony upon this point, for the subject is beginning to attract wide attention; but perhaps better than such testimony will be some facts from my own personal observation and experience within the past two or three years. I have had my attention called very earnestly for a good while to the growing discrepancy in the religious world between men's belief and their professions of belief. And yet, although I have long observed it, I still find myself constantly astonished at the new revelations that keep coming to me from sources the most unexpected.

It is only a little while since I received a long letter from a deacon of an orthodox church in one of the larger towns of Illinois, who had chanced to meet with one of my sermons, thanking me in the most earnest way for the sermon, and telling me that he was thoroughly out of sympathy with the old theology and in sympathy with my Unitarian views; but he was in the church in a prominent position and did not see how to get out without making it very uncomfortable for himself and causing his friends a good deal of pain; and so he remained in the old church as a deacon.

A pastor of an orthodox church in Michigan, who will probably live and die an orthodox minister, wrote me one of the most touching letters I ever read. He said he had lost his faith utterly in the old theology, and yet felt that he could not come out and let people know it. The cross of being true to his convictions was too heavy for him to bear, and yet the thought of being untrue was like a dagger in his soul. A pastor in Chicago told me in a conversation that I had with him a little while before I left there, that his views were in almost exact accord with mine. Indeed, when we compared notes carefully we found the difference to be so small that it required a microscope to reveal any difference at all. And yet he is pastor of an orthodox church in good fellowship with his denomination, and so far as I know, nobody suspects his heresy.

Another pastor of an orthodox church in a neighboring state, with whom I conversed within a few months—an acquaintance of mine in the old days when I myself stood in an orthodox pulpit—went over with me one by one the various points of difference between the old theology and the new, and as we advanced declared his convictions on almost all to be exactly with mine, and showed himself to be orthodox in not one essential point. And yet he keeps his place as an orthodox minister in good standing. He told me he had no doubt he would be obliged to leave the old fellowship sometime, but he some how could not make up his mind to do it now, and so he went on preaching orthodoxy when at heart he was a Unitarian.

A student in one of the orthodox theological seminaries of Chicago came to me a little over a year ago for a talk and advice, saying that he had got to the point where he could not go on in connection with his denomination and be an honest man. He must either get out into connection with a broader, more rational religion, or else he must give up all thought of entering the ministry. "Nor," said he, "am I alone, I find not a few other theological students with whom I have talked feeling the same as I feel, only they are not quite so far along as I." He has since left the seminary and has decided to give up the ministry, because he can't preach the old theology, and has not bravery enough seemingly to announce his change of views, and come out on the liberal platform where he was free to tell me he belonged.

Not long ago when I was away attending a state conference in Wisconsin, I was surprised and gratified to meet an old college friend who told me he was principal of a school in the town where the conference was being held. "But" said I to him, "I thought you were studying for the orthodox ministry." "Yes," he replied, "so I was, but I found when I got through college that I was a great deal nearer a Unitarian than anything else, and if I preached any where it would have to be in a Unitarian pulpit. I did not like to shock my friends, and so I quietly secured a position and went to teaching."

A little while after that, chancing to meet another old college friend, whom I supposed to be a good staunch Baptist, he at once to my great surprise informed me of his gratification that I had become a Unitarian, as he had been thoroughly Unitarian in his convictions longer than I had, though an attendant still of an orthodox church. Several other old college friends with whom I have happened to meet and fall into religious conversation during the past two or three years—all attendants upon and workers in orthodox churches—have told me that in their real convictions they are thorough liberals. And I recollect that one of them—a resident of Chicago—said to me in course of our conversation—"I am in business, coming in contact with men constantly, under circumstances in which they talk freely, as they don't to you ministers, and I tell you that there are very few lawyers or physicians or business men in this city, I don't care how orthodox the church they attend, who believe a word of the old theology. They believe the influence of churches in a community in a general way good, and so they want to help support some church. But the reason why they support the churches that teach the old theology very generally is that those are the churches which their fathers attended, or which they themselves attended when they were children, or which their wives are attached to, or which

are influential and popular churches; and so they attend them. It isn't in one case out of ten because they themselves believe the theology taught there.

"That," he continued, "is with them oftener than you dream, the subject of quiet but remorseless ridicule." I think this picture probably goes too far and makes out the case to be really worse than it is, but I am assured from many sources, and those the most trustworthy, that there is an alarmingly large element of truth in the statements of my friend.

It is not long since two ladies, both leaders in evangelical circles in Chicago (and I speak so much of Chicago because that has been my home for several years), one a sister of as prominent a clergyman as there was in that city, and the other the wife of a well-known revivalist, and herself a very active worker in an influential orthodox church, told me in conversation, that they had been reading some of our most pronounced Unitarian publications, and heartily endorsed almost everything in them. One of the two said she had been essentially in harmony with Unitarians for years, but her friends and religious associations had always been among the orthodox churches, and so she kept quiet about her views and remained in the old church fellowship.

A little while before leaving Chicago I was talking one day with a friend, who is very radical, about a certain popular orthodox preacher whose name is well-known to you all. "Do you know," said my friend, "that he is as radical as I am, and does not believe the old theology a bit more than I do? It is true," he continued. "I don't guess about it, I know. He was for a long time my near neighbor and as intimate in my family as my own brother, and we have talked over all these things together dozens of times, and he is a Liberal through and through." "Then why doesn't he leave his present pulpit?" I asked, "and stop preaching what everybody understands to be orthodoxy?" "Ah, there's the rub," was the reply. "He is in a good place; he is popular in his denomination. It would cost him a good deal, in more ways than one, to break up his old relations. So he stays and rides two horses. He preaches as liberally as he can and keep down suspicion of heresy. But his position is a false one, and at times he feels it deeply, and earnestly wishes he were out of it. He goes on talking (as he is obliged to if he stays in the fold) about Adam and the fall, and the other doctrines generally, as if he believed them all, and half-way convincing himself sometimes that there is some sort or other of poetical or figurative or spiritual sense in which he does believe them, and yet, deep down in his soul knowing all the while and confessing to his intimate friends, that he does not believe them in any sense except an utterly Pickwickian one."

Thus everybody, except a very few persons, understands that he is what he is not. And all not because he would intentionally do wrong (for in reference to most things he is a very conscientious man,) but because he hasn't the moral courage, seemingly, to do the bravely honest and sincere thing.

I have talked with a dozen people since I came to Ann Arbor, who have assured me that they are with me in the things I am preaching, and are not in sympathy with the distinctive doctrines of the orthodox churches, and yet they are in those churches, and show no sign so far as I know, of any intention of leaving them. To me they say "Go ahead, God bless you in your good work of preaching a rational gospel," and then they pay their money, and what is more give their influence, to support a gospel which they are free to confess they don't think is rational. I wish they would not do so inconsistent things as that; I wish they would make their money and influence to flow in the same channels where their convictions go.

But I must not take up more time in citing illustrations, although I could easily fill my entire sermon in recording similar cases which have come within my own immediate knowledge of persons who have drifted entirely away in belief from the old theology, and yet who continue right on as regular attendants and supporters and members and even officers and pastors of the old churches.

Now, of course, all this in one aspect of it is exceedingly encouraging to those of us who believe that the old theology as a theology is false and not true, and that it is a blessed thing that the world is beginning to let go of it and advance toward belief in something better. We cannot but rejoice over every new mind which we find emancipated from the old dark bondage. We cannot but be glad and thankful for every sign that comes to us showing that Christendom is moving forward toward a more true and rational religious faith.

But, friends, we want honesty more even than we want progress. Above and beyond everything else we want men to be what they seem and profess. As another has said: "A rational theology is what we think and pray and toil for day and night, but far better were its day of triumph delayed a thousand years than that it should win its triumph at the cost of moral stamina." A thousand times better be an honest orthodox, believing what one professes, even though the belief be dark and unreasonable, than be a dishonest liberal, believing one thing and professing another. The great danger is not that men shall be orthodox, or liberal, but that they shall be insincere. Once arrived at the point where we can profess this thing or that, just the opposite of our real convictions, for policy's sake, and we

have got where no religion can do us much good.

Isn't a Brahman or an atheist who is honest better than a Christian who is not honest? Isn't our respect for Mr. Moody, with all his absurd theology, infinitely greater under the supposition that he really believes, as for one I am confident he does, the doctrines he preaches, than it could be under the supposition that he knows better, and doesn't believe his own utterances?

No, we all instinctively feel, the moment we begin to look at this matter seriously, that sincerity and truthfulness are the regal virtues,—the absolutely indispensable things in religion, as everywhere else. These wanting, everything is rotten.

So that I say I do not, for one, see how it is possible for men and women who care for religion to look abroad over Christendom and witness the vast array of facts that everywhere rise to view similar to those that I have been rehearsing before you this morning, without pain as well as joy—nay, without pain deeper than the joy. No matter how much we may rejoice in this great, grand drift in the direction of reason, as something which we believe to be of God, and which we believe to carry in it the hope of religion for the future, yet we may well feel alarm in view of the tendency almost everywhere visible in this drift to divorce itself from thorough sincerity—that is to say, the tendency among those who have outgrown the old to still continue to support and maintain the old, and to profess their adhesion to what in their heart of hearts they do not adhere to.

Is it extravagant to estimate the number of men and women at millions who are to-day in Christendom sailing under the flag of the old theology—giving their money and their influence to support it while they live, and legacies to it when they die—when they no more believe it than I believe it. I say, is it extravagant to estimate the number of such at millions? Then, friends, really one can hardly avoid asking the question, how long will it be if things go on in this way before we shall be in the condition religiously of old Greece and Rome? If things go on thus, how long will it be before our preachers and laymen get to the point where they cannot look in one another's faces without laughing, to think of the great farce that they are acting?

But the trouble is by no means all with individual men and women, as individuals; it is largely with the churches and denominations, that insist in flying the flags of the old creeds at their mast-heads when honesty demands that they should be taken down and changed, and new ones be run up. The great Presbyterian body at its late world gathering in Edinburgh, Scotland, you know, refused to

revise the Westminster confession, though it was well known that large numbers of its clergy and laity cannot any longer honestly subscribe to it.

And an effort was made at the great Episcopal Pan-Angelican council held in England a few years ago to get the Articles of the Episcopal church changed, at least to the extent of abolishing the damnatory clauses from the Athanasian creed—clauses which it was well understood that few persons, if any, to-day believe. But the council voted refusing to make any change, thus insisting that every minister of the denomination should be required still to subscribe to them, and use them in his regular services with his congregation.

Dr. Morrison, editor of the *Unitarian Review*, being in England about the time of the council, took occasion to speak of this matter to a prominent church prelate with whom he was in conversation. "How is it," said Dr. Morrison, "that your clergy can go on using this creed in the service, when they confess they don't believe it?" "Oh," replied the churchman, "we sing it," and laughed as if he thought it was a good joke. As if singing it, or intoning it, was somehow a patent ointment to cure the twinges of conscience that otherwise might be expected to arise from declaring together in public, from time to time, pastor and people, what both pastor and people regarded as untrue, and in private were free to confess that they regarded as untrue.

Says Rev. Jas. Freeman Clarke on this subject: "It was not a great while ago, in a convocation of the church of England, which church ordains and commands that every one of its thirty thousand ministers shall four times a year read in the open church the creed of St. Athanasius, which ends by stating that all who do not believe its metaphysical distinctions shall without doubt perish everlastingly, that in that convocation of the church of England, a bishop arose and declared, without a single voice dissenting, that there was not a man in the whole body who believed that affirmation in the creed."

The common excuse given for this kind of thing—repeating creeds and subscribing to creeds that men do not believe is, you know, that it is done with "mental reservation." Men say, "Oh, yes, we repeat in our religious gatherings and subscribe in our churches to what we do not believe; but then we don't mean anything by it. We do our affirming and subscribing as a sort of form, and the reservation that we have in our minds at the time makes it all right."

Well, of course all this is easy to say, but the question immediately arises, can a mental reservation make a falsehood into anything else but a falsehood? And is there anywhere else except in religion a place where a man would think of trying to cover up a falsehood by the mental re-

servation dodge, and persuade himself that it is all right?

Suppose men engage in the practice of saying what they do not believe to be true in business matters, or social affairs, and on having their untruthfulness pointed out, suppose they undertake to justify themselves on the plea that they said what they did with mental reservations! We may be sure that they will not be long in finding out that whether or not such things are regarded as right in church affairs, they are very far from being regarded as right in social or business affairs. Whether or not church morality requires of men a higher standard of truthfulness than this, it is certain that social and business morality require of men a good deal higher standard of truthfulness than this. If a broker on the board of trade in New York promises a dealer that he will take 10,000 bushels of wheat at such a price on such a date and then does not do it, the excuse that he made the promise "with a mental reservation" will not save him from being turned out of the board of trade just as quick as his name can be erased from the rolls.

Do churches not only practice, but uphold and justify, a kind of morality too low to be tolerated for one hour among a body of men that are often called by those very churches, gamblers?

The *Methodist*, one of the leading organs of the M. E. denomination in America, said in an editorial, some time ago: "The habitual preaching of the distinctively Calvinistic dogmas of the Westminster Catechism would now disperse almost any congregation in the United States, or at least would keep from their church doors all but born adherents."

The people would not stand it; they have outgrown those dogmas: those dogmas have become repugnant to their moral sense. And yet the churches won't change them. As I have said, the great Episcopal church in its world gathering in England, the great Presbyterian church in its world gathering in Scotland, yes, and also the great Congregationalist church, in its national gathering for the United States, at Plymouth Rock a few years ago, all refuse to change them a hair. No matter how clearly they see the old theology to be false, they persist in holding it up in their standards as necessary to be subscribed to: and to prevent their obstinacy from being fatal to them in driving thinking people utterly away from them, and emptying their churches, they soften their preaching, push certain doctrines practically into the background, and allow mental reservation in connection with subscription to their creeds—all this, instead of seeking to make their creeds true according to the best light of to-day.

Says Rev. Samuel J. May: "I have several times made the assertion, which I repeat again, that nothing would so soon

empty the Episcopal and the Presbyterian and other orthodox churches, as for the ministers to read intelligently to the people the several creeds, or articles of faith, of those churches, and insist upon their believing as a condition of membership each and every article thereof in its most obvious sense, that is without mental reservations or evasions."

How well many of the leaders of those churches understand this is well illustrated by a case that came to my knowledge a year or two ago. A wealthy Universalist in one of the larger towns of Illinois was solicited to make a large subscription toward building an orthodox church in the city in which he lived. After a little deliberation he promised to do so on condition that the church should display its theological colors. Among the various texts and inscriptions that were to be painted on the walls of the main audience room, the Universalist gentleman asked that there should be placed somewhere in plain sight of the congregation, not indeed the whole creed, but two or three brief articles (which he would select) from the church's creed so that there might be no misunderstanding as to what they were endorsing on the part of the people who joined the church and contributed to its support. He was willing to make the subscription desired of him if they would only ensure him in this way (which surely seemed very reasonable and appropriate) that all who came to the church should know exactly what the church stood for.

I need hardly take the trouble to say that the proposition was rejected and the subscription declined on those conditions.

The church knew that the putting up of those articles of their creed before their congregation,—that is to say, the nailing up thus where all could see it their real doctrinal flag would do them more harm than the money of the Universalist gentleman would do them good.

Now isn't this a strange pass for a church to come to? And yet isn't it just the pass that a very large proportion of the churches of Christendom have reached?

Everything proclaims that the orthodox creeds and confessions of faith have been passed by in the march of human thought, and can never again be the real belief of the American people or the American churches. Why then should there not be honesty enough in the churches to revise them? Can anything be more certain than that the churches are blind to their own best interests, blind to what would promote their growth, when they refuse to revise their creeds? If the Presbyterian, or Methodist, or Episcopalian, or any other of the old churches, would come out and revise its creed even to such an extent as to make it conform to the preaching of its best and broadest men, does any one doubt that this very act would advance that church a long way in popular

favor—I mean in favor with the best and most thoughtful portions of the community? and so would give it a great practical advantage that it does not now possess and cannot possess so long as it clings to a corpse and insists on calling it a living thing.

But it is upon the score of *right* and *wrong* that the reason evidently becomes weightiest for the orthodox churches to modify their creeds. How can churches for a moment to claim to be the guardians of the morals of the community so long as they continue to sail under flags that are lies? Surely there is nothing more imperatively needed than that a call be raised, to ring like a trumpet of thunder through the length and breadth of the land, demanding of the churches, all of them, everywhere, if not to tear up and burn their creeds and confessions of faith, at least to make them conform to the real enlightened religious beliefs of the times—that is, to make them truthful. And if the churches will not do that then the call should ring out louder still to all men as individuals who don't believe the old theology and who do believe in honesty, to come out from them, and to refuse to give them any support or countenance, and band together to build up other new churches that shall be broad and free, and that shall stand for precisely what they profess to stand for.

Dishonesty in business is a dreadful thing; untruthfulness between man and man in social affairs is a dreadful thing. But isn't untruthfulness and insincerity in churches and in religion worse? For is it not to the churches and to religion that we look as purifying fountains whence we expect the streams to flow that are to cleanse business and society and politics, and keep them full of virtue and truth? And if we allow these purifying fountains themselves to become impregnated with insincerity, then what shall save us?

Is it not worth our while then, very seriously to inquire whether the churches are not, at least in a measure, responsible for the widespread and seemingly increasing dishonesty in business, in politics and in society, which we see and lament over, all about us? If the churches set the example is it any wonder if the people outside of the churches follow?

Believe me, friends, this is no light matter. It is something that we are all profoundly interested in, for it touches the very deepest things of our lives. No man may dismiss it with a toss of the head as something which does not concern him. It does concern you; it does concern me; it does concern every man and every woman, who has an interest in the purity and welfare of society.

Churches, if they have creeds at all, must have creeds that are the truest that they can formulate; and if there are any points or doctrines that their members in

the growing light of the age are getting to doubt about, then the churches must modify their creeds accordingly. They must not ask their members to go one hair's breadth further in saying "we believe" than they can go conscientiously. Better a thousand times a man should never become a church member than that he should enter the church over a subscription to a creed, one article or clause of which had to be subscribed to with a mental reservation or evasion. Honesty and truthfulness are jewels too precious to be bartered for anything in this world—even church privileges.

I have referred in detail to many cases of persons coming within my own knowledge, who though they have grown utterly out of sympathy with the dogmas of the old theology, and have come to believe firmly in a religion of reason, are yet attending and supporting the old churches, holding positions of deacons and officers in those churches, and even preaching in their pulpits. I think such do not realize what they are doing. God knows I would not charge any with dishonest motives; for many at least of these persons I am sure would shrink utterly from anything which they were conscious was wrong. And yet is it not high time that they were asked seriously to reflect upon their position? Are they not standing in a false light before the community? Have they any right to give their pecuniary support, and what is more, their moral influence, to uphold what they believe to be false? Have they any right to withhold their pecuniary aid and moral support from what they believe to be true? I have no word of remonstrance to utter to men and women who are still satisfied with the old theology for supporting it and its institutions. But to the large and growing class of men and women who are no longer satisfied with it, who have grown away from it, who do not any longer believe it, and are free to say so, and who do believe essentially the broader and more rational theology of the liberal churches, to these men and women I cannot do otherwise than come with a very earnest and serious remonstrance. By the course they pursue

not only do they place themselves in a false position before the community, and give their pecuniary help and their moral support to what they believe to be false, but they rob the truth of what belongs to it: by the course they pursue the better faith for which the world stretches out pleading hands, from pole to pole and from the rising to the setting sun, is cheated of the wealth and the influence and the support which would enable it to go forward at once to a career of success unequalled in the religious history of the world. If all the people in the United States who in their heart of hearts believe in a religion of common sense and reason—who believe in Jesus' sweet religion of love to God and love to man, and who don't believe the creeds of the popular christianity, would but come out candidly and fearlessly and say so, and unite themselves to establish a broad, free, honest, rational, progressive church, does any one doubt that we should have in a year's time overwhelmingly the largest and strongest religious body in America? Does any one doubt that we should then have reached the much talked of "church of the future?" And why should not all the people of the country who don't believe in the creeds, but who do believe in the rational, natural, universal religion of love to God and love to man, which Jesus taught, just honestly and bravely say it, and thus accomplish the grand work for the world which is so much needed and which could just as well be accomplished now as one hundred or five hundred years from now, if only men would haul down flags from over their heads that don't represent them, and run up flags that do.

Friends, let us pray for the coming of the time—the glad time—when every creed and catechism in the world shall contain the article, "I believe in honesty and thorough sincerity in business, in society, in every department of thought and life, but most of all, in religion." For let us be sure that when the catechisms and creeds all do contain that article, then the millenium will come fast.

ROBERT INGERSOLL.

HIS THEOLOGY EXAMINED. HIS INFLUENCE TRACED. IS HE DOING HARM?
IS HE DOING GOOD? WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR HIM? IS THE NEXT
QUARTER CENTURY TO PRODUCE "A CROP OF INGERSOLLS?"
HOW ARE INGERSOLLS TO BE GOT RID OF?

BY

REV. J. T. SUNDERLAND.

A SERMON PREACHED IN THE UNITARIAN CHURCH, ANN ARBOR, MICH.,
Nov. 17, 1878.

"Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God."—1 JOHN, 4:3
"Prove all things, hold fast that which is good."
—1 THESS. 5:21.

I ask your attention this morning to some thoughts about Mr. Robert Ingersoll; and I do so because he has recently been among us, some of you have heard him, the community is thinking a good deal about him and his ideas, and he is undeniably a man whose influence for good or for evil is affecting religion in this country to-day not a little. An able man himself, and one whose word, because of his confessed ability, sounds out far; he is still more notable as a representative of a large and growing class of men, who are coming forward to wage a war to the knife, if not upon all Christianity, at least upon the ecclesiasticism and established theologies of Christianity; if not upon what is deepest and most vital in religion, at least upon that part of religion which fastens itself to *ipse dixit*, external authorities and supernaturalisms.

Of course we may ignore Mr. Ingersoll and his class if we choose; but if we are wise we shall not ignore them. Their influence is certainly coming to be very great. Probably no man in the popular lecture-field, with the possible exception of Mr. Beecher, draws such crowds to hear him as does Mr. Ingersoll. And probably not any

man, not even Mr. Beecher, makes anything like the impression upon his audiences that Mr. Ingersoll makes. Persons who hear him—particularly young men (and his audiences are made up largely of young men)—remember more things that he says, and talk about what he said longer, than is the case with any other popular lecturer.

Moreover, in addition to the large hearing he gets *via voce*, he gets a larger still through the medium of the printing press. Few names are seen oftener in the public prints than his. His speeches, letters and sayings are quoted far and wide; and the number of copies sold in cheap 5 or 10-cent pamphlet editions of some of his best known lectures is astonishing. Nor, as I have intimated, does he stand alone as a promulgator of his ideas. Such men as B. F. Underwood and Wm. Denton, the former occupying a religious platform almost identical with that of Mr. Ingersoll, and the latter in essential harmony with him in everything but his materialism, have, in the aggregate, a very large hearing, in all parts of the country. I say of course we can shut our eyes to these facts if we prefer; but they are facts, and will not be changed by our being oblivious to them, or denying them.

For one I think the part of wisdom is to come forward and look these facts in the face, and inquire earnestly and candidly

what they mean. I wish as well as I can in the time that is before me this morning, to inquire into the kind of work which Mr. Ingersoll is doing, with a view to finding out something about its moral quality. Is he doing any good, as his friends certainly claim, and claim earnestly? And if he is doing good, definitely what? On the other hand, is he doing any harm, as his enemies so emphatically affirm? and if so, as definitely as we can find out, what?

I.

First, then, is Mr. Ingersoll doing harm? To this inquiry I must confess I find myself obliged to answer, I think he is, and in three or four different directions. For one thing, I think he does serious harm by going so far in the direction of atheism. True, he does not, so far as I am aware, ever positively deny the existence of God. Indeed he confesses—as he did in the lecture in the opera house in this city the other night—that it would be illogical and absurd thus to deny. And yet in his published "Oration on the Gods," he attempts to prove that there can be no Divine Being, and in almost all his writings and lectures he is in the habit of assuming that there is none, and of talking as if of course the idea that there can be a God is an exploded superstition. Thus, if not in definite terms, at least by implication, he denies God's existence. I hope I do not misrepresent him in this.

Now, of course a man may, with perfect propriety, say that he cannot find what to him is *satisfactory evidence* of the existence of God. And certainly I should be the last person to complain of any man for saying such a thing as that.

But, atoms that we are in this great universe,—all our knowledge but as a spark beside the sun,—for us to deny, even by implication, that beyond our short sight, higher, deeper than our puny thought can soar or reach, there may be a Great Mind that has planned all these wonders of heaven and earth, is surely a hardihood of denial that a thoughtful man may well shrink back from presuming to make.

And, as a fact, few of our scientists and scholars and thinkers whose studies have carried them out farthest, and whose thought has taken them down deepest, do ever make, or show any disposition to make, any such denial.

Says the *Nation*, in a review of Mr. A. R. Wallace's works on Natural Selection: "It is not a little singular that, within a year, two of the greatest thinkers of the day, who have gone farthest on the road which is generally believed to lead inevitably to atheism, have in all earnestness, and in the true scientific spirit, declared that their studies have given them the abiding con-

viction that there is, beyond the range of physical events, an Intellectual Guiding Force. Our author (Mr. Wallace) believes that all the force is 'will-force'—the will of a Supreme Intelligence; and Julius Robert Meyer, who has carried the idea of a correlation of forces to that point where the shortsighted believed he had left nothing but machinery in the universe, has declared that beyond all these phenomena must lie the Infinite Mind."

Even Haeckel, who is almost always spoken of as the most out-and-out of materialists, declare that men "are justified in recognizing God's spirit and power in all phenomena;" and he quotes with approval the strong words of Giordano Bruno: "A Spirit exists in all things, and no body is so small but contains a part of the Divine Substance within itself, by which it is animated."

Says Prof. Tyndall: "I have often in the springtime watched the advance of the sprouting leaves, and of the grass, and of the flowers, and observed the general joy of opening life in nature, and I have asked this question: Can it be that there is no being or thing in nature who knows more about these things than I do? Do I, in my ignorance, represent the highest knowledge of these things existing in this universe? The man who puts that question to himself—if he be not a shallow man—if he be a man capable of being penetrated by a profound thought—will never answer that question by professing the creed of atheism."

Mr. Darwin, as I understand, is a firm believer in God. And even Herbert Spencer simply says, when he comes into the region of the infinite: "I don't know! It is too high, too deep, too wonderful for me! I have no words to talk about it!" I cannot but think that the time will come when Mr. Ingersoll will be anything but proud of his atheistic positions. Nothing is more easily made, or cheaper, than denials of the existence of God, or flippant assumptions that such existence is a superstition. Does not Mr. Ingersoll see this? If he did, I think he would take counsel of profounder students and deeper thinkers than he, and put away his assumptions and implied denials; and if he is not able to find what to his mind is convincing proof of God, simply say, "As for me I don't know," and stop there.

Looking out upon matter, we say we know that matter exists. We know it exists in our own bodies; we know it exists beyond our bodies; we know it exists beyond our world in the far away and innumerable worlds of boundless space. Thus we predicate infinity of matter. Just so, and with what seems to many of us quite as good evidence, we say we know from our own consciousness that we have intelligence, or mind; then, looking out beyond ourselves and seeing

our fellows about us doing a thousand things which we can account for only on the supposition that they too are intelligent, we say our fellows are intelligent, or have minds; and then, looking out beyond man, and seeing marks of intelligence, or mind, plainer still, in all the order of the great universe, some of us, at least, find our minds so constituted that we cannot do otherwise than predicate Infinite Intelligence, or an Infinite Mind, as inevitably as infinite matter. And this is no superstition, to be laughed at and held up to ridicule. It is stern logical deduction, resting upon strictly scientific premises. And Mr. Ingersoll should respect it as such.

I am sorry and surprised that Mr. Ingersoll shows either such an incapacity or else such an unwillingness to discriminate between ideas of God that are high, worthy, rational, elevating to the one who holds them, and ideas that are low, irrational, debasing to those who hold them. There is certainly great need that the popular ideas of God should be elevated; and that many things which people all about us are believing about God should be corrected. There is plenty of room for Mr. Ingersoll to work here. But surely he doesn't need to adopt the old-time Chinese method of burning down the house for the sake of roasting the pig. Let him strike as hard blows as he pleases or as he can—the harder the better—against all ideas of God that degrade the Divine character, and hence injure men. But let him pause with that, and not go on to preach his atheism, unless he can show that some good is coming to the world from it, or at least until he can show that it stands upon a better foundation of reason than as yet he has made manifest.

Second, I think Mr. Ingersoll is certainly doing harm in taking the stand he does against the doctrine of immortality. Of course if he cannot get evidences of its truth such as are convincing to him, then he cannot for himself believe the doctrine. And it is not for him to pretend that he believes it, when he doesn't. But this does not, as it seems to me, give him any justification for trying to shake the belief of others in it. It isn't an immoral doctrine; it isn't in any sense a degrading doctrine; if it were, he would certainly be justified in attacking it.

It cannot be successfully maintained that men are any *less* good, or wise, or happy for believing that they are going to live again with those they love in another world. On the other hand it is certainly true that to great multitudes the doctrine is an inexpressible comfort, and a source of vast strength and inspiration. Why then should one wish, or even be willing, to destroy the belief of his fellow beings about him in this doctrine,

simply because he is not able to see sufficient evidence for it to convince him; especially when there are so many others on every side who are thoughtful, who have looked into these matters as carefully and with as much independence of thought as he, who firmly believe the doctrine to be true, and see evidences for it which to them are thoroughly convincing? Let us tear down where we have good reason for tearing down; where we can accomplish good by tearing down. But where our tearing down is without reason, and only leaves desolation where before was beauty and joy, let us be careful. I don't think Mr. Ingersoll is as careful as he should be in this matter.

Third, Mr. Ingersoll does harm by treating the Bible unfairly. His last lecture in this city was devoted entirely to the subject of the Bible. In that lecture he said a multitude of things that are true, and that need to be said. Many of the errors, mistakes, self-contradictions, intrinsic absurdities, unscientific statements, immoral teachings and practices, and low representations of God, that he pointed out in the Old Testament, are simply undeniable. We may wish they were not there, but they are there. We may try to explain them away or cover them up, but it is no use; they won't be explained away or covered up. They are there. And it is time for our own honesty's sake, and for religion's sake, yes, and for the Bible's sake too, that we recognize the fact that they are there. Recognizing these imperfections in the Bible will help us to truer and more rational ideas of how religion came into the world and what it is; and also to more intelligent and in the end more helpful notions of the Bible itself.

My complaint then against Mr. Ingersoll is not that he brought these imperfections to light, and in such a way that nobody could mistake his meaning or get round what he said. For this he deserves no censure. But I do complain that he showed nothing of the Bible *but* its imperfections. I do complain that because of the imperfections which he found in the Bible he condemned the whole book, indiscriminately. I do complain that while he protested against belief in such absurdities as, for example, a talking serpent, and a speaking ass, and a spring bursting out of a jaw-bone, and a stream of water following the Israelites up-hill and down through the desert, and a woman made out of a human rib, and a story like that of Noah and his ark, or the tower of Babel, or Jonah and the whale, and so on;—and while he protested, and very properly, against the idea that an infinitely wise and just and good Being could do such things as command Joshua to drive the Canaanites from their homes and murder them, men,

women and innocent babes, by the ten thousand; and inspire David to curse his enemies and pray that their little ones might be dashed against a stone; and give orders to Moses sanctioning human slavery; and command witches to be put to death; and curse the world, dooming untold millions of human beings to sin and misery in this life and everlasting torments in the next, because of the eating of an apple by Adam and Eve in a paradise garden.—I say while he protested, and with good reason, against the idea that an Infinite Being, who is perfect in wisdom and justice, not to say mercy, could do such things, I complain that he ignored as having no existence that other far larger part of the Bible which is all aglow with things pure, true, tender, sweet, noble, heroic, grandly inspiring. I complain that he ignored the twenty-third and a score of other Psalms; and the magnificent closing chapters of Isaiah; and the noble poem of Job; and the garnered wisdom of the Proverbs; and the ringing condemnations against wrong, and the strong, impassioned pleas for righteousness, with which the prophets abound; and the matchless Sermon on the Mount; and the parables of Jesus; and Paul's golden chapter on "Charity;" and a thousand other passages and parts of both the Old Testament and New, which can no more be left out in any fair and complete representation of the Bible than the sun, moon and planets, and all the stars of first magnitude can be left out in any proper study of astronomy.

What would you think of a man who, in professing to give you a correct picture of Michigan, should paint for you only her boulders, sand heaps and swamps, and declare to you "this is Michigan:" while he had left out of his picture all the smiling hills and valleys, all the fertile farms, all the grain fields and orchards, all the quiet farm houses and lovely villages and thriving cities of the State? And yet, just that is what Mr. Ingersoll does in his representation of the Bible. It is true there are rocks and sand heaps and swamps in Michigan, but Michigan is a great, rich, prosperous, noble State aside from them and in spite of them all. Just so the Bible is a great and valuable book entirely aside from and in spite of all the mistakes and crudities of science, which, coming from an age before science was born, it could not but contain; and in spite of traces of certain social, moral, and religious barbarisms, which were incident to those early times. And it is a pity that Mr. Ingersoll ignores all this. He does great harm by ignoring it. By so doing he would cut us off from a stream, which, in spite of the more or less of earthly elements and impurities which have been mixed with its waters, is yet, on the whole, clearly the

richest and most valuable source of religious inspiration, moral girding and spiritual life that comes down to us out of the great past.

Fourth, I am sure Mr. Ingersoll does very serious and lasting harm by making light of religion, in such a sweeping and unfair way. It is true that religion in the past has been allied with much that is dark and cruel in the history of the race. In the name of religion, dungeons have been built, martyr fires have been kindled, persecutions have been waged, blighting superstitions have been laid upon men's minds. In the name of religion, too often, the bigoted and the bad have held the reins of power, and the noble, the intelligent and the good have been overridden and trodden in the dust. But this does not make it true that religion has been only a curse to the world, or a greater curse than a blessing; or that henceforth we had better put all religions away out of our thoughts and hearts, and live from this time forth in a religionless world. These facts argue for *reform*, not for *annihilation* of religion. Shall we wish to annihilate our rivers because some of them sometimes overflow their banks, and destroy property or create malaria? Shall we say, better that there be no fire in the world, because fire sometimes burns us, destroys our homes, sweeps out of existence great cities? Shall we say that the sun is a curse because by its shining it smites down the traveler in the desert, or hastens to putrefaction the carcass of the dead beast? Nay, fire and river and sun are all good; and so, no less, is religion. Religion is a fire that has warmed the world as no other fire has. Religion is a river the streams whereof make glad the weary hearts of men as no other stream has ever made them glad. Religion is a sun which has shone upon the world with a light than which none holier or more life-giving has ever fallen on humanity. Religion has always been potent in inspiring the noblest heroisms and self-sacrifices of the world. There is no love purer than that kindled at her altars. There is no devotion more sublime than that which is seen in her followers, in all ages and in all lands. There have been no sterner leaders of the army of right in the world, and no tenderer sympathizers with the poor and suffering, than among her children. There is no precious plant of patience, or gentleness, or fidelity or self-forgetfulness, or brave endurance under wrong, or returning good for evil, or hope, or trust, growing in the hearts of humanity, but religion has tended it, warmed it in her bosom, watered it with her tears, and by her loving care brought it to quite the finest blossoming that it has reached anywhere on the earth. No, we haven't got to the time when burdened, sorrowing, struggling, sinning humanity can give up the hope, the consolation, the

strength, the incentive to duty, the moral girding that comes from religion. And I am sorry to have Mr. Ingersoll, or any other man, say a word which has even a tendency to make men careless about a matter of so high concern as it seems to me religion is to every human being.

Finally, I think Mr. Ingersoll does grave harm by the irreverent and flippant way in which he treats sacred things generally. True, he insists that the people regard things as sacred which they ought not to regard thus, and the quickest way to open their eyes is to laugh at them, just as the Psalmist of old laughed at the idols of wood which men in his day worshipped, which had eyes with which they could not see, and ears with which they could not hear, and hands with which they could not handle; just as Elijah laughed at the prophets of Baal when they could not kindle the altar wood with fire from heaven. Certainly, for one, I appreciate a good deal of Mr. Ingersoll's wit, and humor, and good-natured railery, and even his sarcasm, and yet I wish he would discriminate. Why doesn't he discriminate? Surely there are some things in this world too holy to be trodden over by the thoughtless feet of laughter and jokes. Surely there are some places where, if persons go with us, they must go not with the boisterous talk, or cynical sneer, or jester's cap and bells; but with soft tread, and low tone, and uncovered head. Alas, Mr. Ingersoll seems to forget this. Thus he pains a great many whom he need not pain; and sets a sort of fashion among those who hear him and are fascinated with his fine powers—particularly young men, who are just at an age to be carried off their feet by a brilliant, dashing speaker like him—he sets among such, I say, a sort of fashion of irreverence and flippant dealing with sacred subjects. The harm he is doing in this direction is very grave; and I feel the more to regret it, because, as I said, it seems to me to be so entirely useless. With his magnificent powers, I cannot but believe that he could do a far larger work in the direction of breaking down harmful superstitions, if he would discriminate more than he does, and aim his shafts of wit and sarcasm only at things which plainly are harmful superstitions, and not at everything he happens not to believe, no matter how good and sacred it may be to others.

So much then for the harm, and the very serious harm, in three or four different directions, which for one I confess I cannot but think Mr. Ingersoll is doing.

II.

Now to the question, is he doing any good? From what I have already said you will see I think his influence is a mixed or two-sided one, partly bad, and partly not bad. In-

deed, I find myself forced to the conviction that with the harm, he is doing not a little good. I think he is saying a great many things that need to be said, and striking a great many ringing blows that need to be struck. I think his flail is bringing out a good deal of wheat as well as a good deal of chaff; and that the keen rapier thrusts which he is giving to so many of the conventional ideas of the day, though they pierce deep and draw no little blood, are yet going to leave religion on the whole more sound and healthy for the blood drawn. But in what particular direction is he doing good?

1. In the first place, I think he is doing good in showing to Christian people how crude and unworthy, in important particulars, is the conception of God which is involved in the popular theology. There is no denying it, the theology which has been in vogue in Christendom for 1500 years and more has represented God as doing a great many things which, to say the least, would be unjust and wrong for man to do. In other words, it has taught a lower morality as connected with God's character than as connected with man's. To cite a point: Everybody will agree that it would be wrong for a human parent to plan beforehand a condition of things for a child of his, such, that he knew of a certainty beforehand that the child would disobey him; and then for that disobedience punish the child in the most fearful way all its life. And yet for almost all the history of Christianity, the church has taught exactly this of God, and that it was *right* for God to do this; as if his superior power justified in him what in man would be wrong; in other words, as if his moral character were lower than man's.

For many years Liberal Christians and rational religionists have been endeavoring by candid and thoughtful arguments to show that such conceptions of the character of God are degrading, that they must be laid aside, and others higher and better must be adopted in their place. Men and women of intelligence will not continue long to worship a Deity less just, less magnanimous, of less exalted moral character than they demand in human beings. I say for many years our Liberal Churches have been doing all in their power, in earnest, candid, and fair-minded ways, to urge this upon the attention of the people of Christendom. But with what result? We have been listened to by comparatively few; the majority of those who hold to the old, lower ideas of God, and therefore are the very ones who ought to have listened, like Bunyan's pilgrim have put their fingers in their ears and run away from our word, refusing to hear. What is the result? The result is different enough from what they expected, but yet just what they might have expected. Gentle means failing, less gen-

tle follow. This word must and will be heard. In due time along comes a man like Ingersoll, and by his eloquence, his wit, his ridicule, his humor, his retorts, his scathing denunciations, his fiery invectives, his jokes—by the many-sidedness, and brilliancy, and very extravagance of his speech, *compels* people to take their fingers from their ears and forget their bigotry for a moment while they hear him, and while they hear through him these ideas which it is so important for them and for religion that they should hear.

It seems a pity that men should have to be driven by jests, and sarcasms and caricatures to elevate their conceptions of Deity, and to give up such low ideas of Him, as, for example, that He could command men to lie and steal and murder; that He could be outwitted by the devil; that He could inspire men to utter falsehoods and to pray for the most terrible calamities to fall upon their enemies; that He could make an eternal hell; that He could accept the death of an innocent person in place of the guilty, and so on. Nevertheless where calm reason fails doubtless we should be thankful for the aid of wit, and caricature, and sarcasm, and even ridicule; just as in maladies of the body we should be thankful for a blister where milder means will not avail. One thing is certain, and that is, that if we have a few Ingersolls thundering and lightning all around the horizon for a few years, the popular idea of God will be perceptibly changed for the better. We shall by the means have some persons made atheists, no doubt—a thing greatly to be regretted; but those who do retain their belief in God will believe in Him as a higher and more perfect Being than they would have done if such men as Ingersoll had not appeared, to point out, and hold up to light and to ridicule, the imperfections of the former conceptions.

2. Another way in which I think Mr. Ingersoll is doing good, is by compelling men to open their eyes and see what a crude and flimsy foundation it is that they have been making religion to stand upon, when they have insisted, as so many even yet insist, that its chief corner stones are miracles and supernaturalisms—things which our science and the intelligence of our times are silently all the while undermining. Religion does not rest upon miracles and supernaturalisms for its foundation. It has a foundation a thousand times deeper and firmer, broader and more enduring, and more satisfying to the rational mind, than these ever can be. Its corner stones are reason, law, nature, human nature. Its foundations are laid in the very heart and conscience and soul of man. Such shakings and upheavals among the old artificial supernaturalistic foundations as Mr. Ingersoll is causing, cannot fail of driving men and women by degrees to search, and at last

find for religion these, its real and everlasting foundations. When men come to understand that religion is just as true and stands just as firm, whether the sun paused in its course at the command of Joshua or not, and whether Jesus walked on the sea of Galilee or not—that is to say, when men come to understand that religion is purity of life and obedience to conscience, and reverence towards all that is above us, and helpfulness to humanity by our side—just these things, and not necessarily belief in marvels at all, or attempts to believe what we can't believe at all; then, and not till then, will the shafts and volleys of men like Ingersoll pass by like the idle wind. And, indeed, do we not know that Mr. Ingersoll's shafts and volleys are not aimed at such religion as this? Purity of life, obedience to conscience, judgment, justice, truth, doing as one would be done by, love to our fellow men, and even love to God as shown by our love to our brother—Mr. Ingersoll has no word to utter against these. In the presence of these he is silent; nay, in the presence of these his condemnation is turned to commendation, and his scorn to praise.

3. And this leads me to say, thirdly, that Mr. Ingersoll is doing good by opening men's eyes—violently, may be, but *opening* them to truer ideas of the Bible. Unjust as I think he is to the Bible, one-sided and extravagant as it seems to me his treatment of it almost always is, he yet calls attention, as I have already said, to a set of facts connected with the Bible which Christendom has ignored and suppressed and pretended do not exist, but which do exist, and which must be recognized before we can judge correctly about the Bible, and give it the place which it must finally come to have. As a book thought to be infallible, the Bible is a fetter on the human mind, a chain which holds the race back from religious and other progress. Ingersoll's Thor-hammer blows, while they fall so roughly and indiscriminately as sometimes to crush or bruise things which for one I cannot but wish he would let alone, yet are doing right telling work on the fetter and the chain. Pretty soon, thanks partly, at least, to his blows, all fetters and chains of infallibility theories will be broken, and we shall then have the Bible as a great and noble book to help us in every real way that it helps us now, but no longer to tyrannize over the human mind, or hold Christianity creed-bound to the past.

4. Another way in which Mr. Ingersoll is doing good, is by showing up the folly and sin of living primarily for other-world "salvation," so called, (which we are taught by the popular religion of the day is the all-important thing,) instead of making it the supreme endeavor of life to transform *this* world into heaven as we go along.

5. Once more, he is doing good in exposing religious hypocrisy and cant. He wields a terribly sharp lance, and into nothing does he more delight to thrust it than into shams and pretences, and make-believes, especially those of religion.

6. Finally, and most important of all, he is doing great good, I am sure, by startling a great many people into thinking. Persons who are in the habit of thinking for themselves, naturally take it for granted that everybody else does the same. But nothing could be a greater mistake. Independent thinking is rare in connection with anything, but it is far more rare in connection with religion than anywhere else,—because for centuries on centuries the religious world has been educated into the belief that they need not think,—nay, *must* not think, except in certain lines and in conformity with certain prescribed standards. And everybody who tries to help his fellows forward to better views of religious truth, finds, from practical experience, that his greatest difficulty lies right here—people do not think, do not *want* to think—*will* not think unless taken by the neck fairly, and shaken, and made to think. Ingersoll more than perhaps any other man is doing just that. He compels men to think whether they will or not. And so he does good. True, when men have not been in the habit of thinking for themselves, but have always followed automatically the old traditions, until suddenly, under the stimulus of a man like Ingersoll, they are awakened, and burst out for the first time into independent thinking, they are apt to make wild work of it for a time; just as water when it bursts its dam, at first makes wild work. But the remedy for this is not to stop thinking, as some would have us believe. The remedy is *time* and *more thinking*. So that still we may say that he who makes men think, even though he startles and shocks them into it as Ingersoll does, is yet, in so far, a benefactor of his race;—for whatever of evil there may be incidental to it, thinking, on the whole, and in the final outcome of it, is good, and only good.

These, then, that I have enumerated, are some of the ways in which, as it seems to me, Mr. Ingersoll is doing undoubted harm in this country, and some of the ways in which he is doing as undoubted good.

And now one further thought. I should fail to do justice to my subject if I did not consider it. If the position which I have taken is true, that Mr. Ingersoll is doing a work which in some aspects is a necessary work, who is responsible for the state of things in the religious world that makes such a work necessary? Moreover, if in any direction he is doing harm, as so many of us think he is, who is responsible for the state of thing which makes it possible for him to do this harm? In other words, who is responsible for the appearance before the religious world of the man whom we are

discussing to-day? In all thoughtfulness and kindness, I answer: It is my candid conviction, which years of thought upon this matter have confirmed me in, that our orthodox friends have themselves mainly to thank, or to blame, as they may choose to put it, for Mr. Ingersoll. I say, I state this conviction in all kindness of feeling, but I state it earnestly, for I solemnly believe it to be a truth, and a truth to which the attention of the whole Christian community ought to be called. I think it is plain that Mr. Ingersoll and such as he are the natural and necessary product of the theology which has been so long dominant in the Christian world. Given a theology, so speculative, so unreasonable, so foundationless, so full of cruelty and injustice, so burdened with low ideas of God and human nature and right and wrong, so hostile to freedom of thought, to scientific, social and religious progress, as the prevailing theology of Christendom has been, and then given, secondly, a great aggregate of Christian churches, and teachers, and preachers, bent upon holding on to that theology, in spite of all reason, and in spite of the incoming of new light which shows all the while more and more clearly how false and harmful it is, and it is inevitable that Ingersolls should arise, to protest, to scoff, to strike out in wild ways for freedom from the bondage, to smite fiercely—the good sometimes with the evil. The only wonder is that more Ingersolls do not arise. And they will. If the churches hold on to their creeds and their dogmas as they are doing now, the next twenty-five years will produce a larger crop of Ingersolls than has ever been known. Are there any, then, in the community, who deprecate Mr. Ingersoll, and wish to get rid of him? There is one way in which you can get rid of him in a day—I mean get rid of him as a lecturer on these topics which you call “infidel” topics. And that is to throw away the irrational elements out of your theologies, and come forward before the world with a religion that is reasonable, and clean from these debasing survivals from darker ages—for that is exactly what such dogmas as I have mentioned are—debasing survivals that have come down to us from darker ages. Once let the Christian churches of the land plant their feet upon a religion thus cleansed and made rational, and Mr. Ingersoll’s trade would be gone in an hour. And it has got to come to this, friends. You may write books to refute him, set preachers preaching against him, or put lecturers upon the lyceum platform, and send them about the country in his track to answer him and destroy his influence. It is of no use. It all only adds fuel to the flame. It only advertises him and gives him a just so much larger hearing; and, what is more, the very men who answer him will every time only make more skeptics than they cure.

As between Ingersoll and orthodoxy, we may depend upon it people when they get so that they dare think are more and more going to choose Ingersoll. The drift is tremendously that way, particularly among the young men of the land. And there is no cure for it under heaven, but in a purer, nobler, more rational religion. But that *will* work a cure. Let the churches of the land come before their respective communities holding to all the good they now have but casting out the bad; holding to all their reason but casting out their unreason; let them change their mind-enslaving and pro-

gress-destroying injunction to "believe," "believe," into the better injunction to *investigate*; let them bury forever out of sight their foolish and outrageous dogmas, of a race fallen and ruined by the first pair eating a forbidden apple; and human nature altogether sinful and depraved so that men and women can do nothing pleasing in the sight of God unless they have in some supernatural way been born again; and an endless hell for three-quarters of the human race; and an infallible Bible, containing such things as everybody who has read it at all knows this Bible of ours does contain; and a personal devil; and a literal resurrection of the body; and a man—a good and noble religious teacher of Galilee, but a *man*—deified and worshiped as God; and three persons who are not three, but only one God; and an "atonement" whereby innocence is punished and guilt goes free; and a "scheme of redemption" so-called, whereby God by dying is able to get the upper hand of the devil and rescue a small part of the race out of his clutches; and a theory of "conversion" and "salvation by the blood," whereby a murderer may go in half an hour after he has done his bloody deed to heaven while the man he has murdered, be he as good as Abraham Lincoln, but not "converted," goes to hell; I say let the churches of the land, instead of keeping these things in their creeds and confessions of faith, as they insanely persist in doing, bury forever and ever out of sight these and all other such dogmas of the old past night, which have no place in the light of to-day, and in the room of these things let them give men a religion of reason and righteousness, and love and helpfulness, and hope; a religion with all its windows open to the sun; a religion which holds on earnestly to everything that is good and true and inspiring and blessed that comes down from the past, while it believes with all its might in the light and goodness of the present time; a religion which joins hands with science, and education, and culture, and all true philanthropies and reforms, and which prays "thy kingdom come and thy will be done on earth as it is done in heaven," by working with mind and hand and heart for everything that can make human beings wiser and better and happier—let but the good day come when the churches of the land shall substitute the principles of *such a religion as this* in the place of their present dogmatic creeds, and preach such and only such a religion as this to the people, and who does not know that Mr. Ingersoll will be as powerless against it as a babe? Nay, who does not believe that such a religion, could it but come to-day, would find even Mr. Ingersoll its friend, instead of its foe?

But enough! I have spoken thus plainly this morning, friends, because I believe plain, clear words on this subject are needed. I have followed neither the crowd who indiscriminately applaud, nor yet the other crowd who sweepingly and blindly condemn. The task I set before me was the difficult one of trying to draw lines, to separate the evil from the good, to trace effects to causes. It is easy to clap hands; it is easy to hiss. It is less easy with candor and fairness to judge and weigh, and find out the real truth. But if it

is less easy, it is infinitely more important.

Just one thing more I must say for Mr. Ingersoll, before I sit down. As you see, I differ from him widely and radically in many things. I deprecate as much as any man living, I believe, many of the positions he takes in his lectures—positions which seem to me to be illogical, untrue, harmful; yet this I must say for him—and I should not be an honest man if I did not say it: Whatever else I condemn him for, I honor him, and I shall never cease to honor him, for his intellectual honesty and courage in daring to think for himself and then to stand by his convictions at any cost. And it has been with no light cost that he has stood by his convictions. Now he gets magnificent pay for his utterances. Not so always. For years his "infidelity" was an expensive thing—a thing which stood right across his path to professional success, wealth, political preferment. Men would not employ him as a lawyer because he was an "infidel." Caucuses would not nominate him, the people would not vote for him, because he was an "infidel." It is much the same still. Aside from his infidelity he is to-day the most popular man in the West, probably in the United States. Some one asked him a little while ago what it cost him to publish his book, containing his oration on the gods. He replied, "It cost me the governorship of the State of Illinois." Everybody knows, who knows anything at all about the matter, that there is hardly a position within the gift of the people that might not be his, were it not for his theological ideas. At the time of the last presidential election his friends all over the country, knowing how fine were his political prospects, but for the offensiveness of his religious utterances, advised him to keep still on the subject of religion. What was his answer? "It is more important for me to do what I can to help break down theological bigotry and superstition in this country, than it is to be Senator from Illinois, or United States Minister to a foreign power."

Friends, in an age like ours, when brave, honest thinking is so much at a discount, and when brave, honest speaking out is at a greater discount still—when such multitudes of men before they speak inquire what is *politic*, instead of what is *true*—what is the *popular* thing to say, instead of what is the *needed* thing to say, let us devoutly thank heaven for the example of a man—whether he is on our side or not, whether he says our words or not—who has the courage to think for himself and to speak what he believes ought to be said whether men praise or condemn.

In conclusion, then, for all that is noble in Mr. Ingersoll's character, for all that is true in his words, for all that is good in his work and influence, glad appreciation and thanks—thanks both to him, and to God in whose hands are both we and he! For all that is unworthy and bad in his character, for all that is untrue in his teachings, for all that is evil in his influence or work, a tear! And let us pray for the coming of that good day when the religious world shall no more find itself confronted by such men as Ingersoll, because there shall no longer be work needful for them to do.

THOMAS PAINE.

A LECTURE BY REV. J. T. SUNDERLAND.

I suppose it would not be too much to say that no man this century has been so much or so bitterly spoken against by the Protestant Christian world as Thomas Paine. In innumerable books, papers, pamphlets and pulpits his name has been a name of execration. The Devil, Judas Iscariot, Voltaire and Paine, with sometimes the name of Theodore Parker added, have made up the catalogue of the arch monsters whom all good people are supposed to dread with perfect dread, and hate with perfect hatred. He is invariably spoken of as "Tom" Paine. Men who would blush to call Paine's intimate friends and associates and admirers, viz: Jefferson and Franklin and Washington, nick-names: and who would be incensed to be called Tom or any other nick-name themselves, never think of calling Paine anything else than Tom Paine. Children are taught to associate him with everything that is vile; young men going away from home are solemnly warned against reading his works. The "Age of Reason" is spoken of as if it were beyond conception wicked and blasphemous. Whenever a religious teacher wishes to denounce infidelity and atheism, and everything that is supposed to be inimical to religion and goodness, Paine is likely to be brought forward as the typical offender; and on his back must fall the fiercest of the stripes. If we wish to think how Paine has been abused by the Christian world for the past seventy-five years, (I do not say here whether unjustly or justly) but if we wish to think how, with good reason or without good reason, he has been inveighed against, and called the blackest of names, by the followers, too, of him who taught men to love their enemies, and bless those who curse them, you have only to call to mind how Mr. Ingersoll is inveighed against and called hard names now, and then just multiply this by about ten.

And yet who is this Thomas Paine? I will give you a quotation of a few words from another, and then go forward to look at his life, and trace his career briefly through the thirty

years and more that he was on the public stage, to see what kind of a man he really was, and whether or not there is cause for the opprobrium that has been heaped upon him. The quotation that I wish to make is from one of his biographers. It is this: If Paine had died before he wrote his works on the Bible—these were produced after he was sixty years old, and when his political career was essentially over—If Paine had died before he wrote his works on the Bible, "not another name would have stood higher on the roll of national helpers and deliverers than his. Not Lafayette's, nor Stuben's, nor DeKalb's, nor Greene's, nor Adams', nor Washington's: he would have had more honor than he actually deserved. Now he has so much less! And why? Because he wrote the Age of Reason."

But let us look a little at his life and see whether this is true or not.

Mr. Paine's life may be divided into four periods. The first period of thirty-eight years was spent in England, where he was born; the next of twelve years was passed in America; the third of fifteen years in England and France, mainly in France; the fourth and last of seven years in America, where he died at the age of seventy-two.

Shall we run through these periods in their order?

Born in Norfolk county, England in 1737 of Quaker parents, who gave him careful moral training, he went to school until he was thirteen, and then began work for his father, who was a stay maker. Though he never liked this business, yet he continued in it most of the time until he was twenty-six years of age, when he received an appointment in the excise. In this employment he remained, with one brief intermission, for eleven years, or until he was thirty seven, finally losing his place because of a pamphlet which he had written, entitled "The Case of the Excise Officers," in which he told some rather too plain truths about how the excise business was carried on and how it ought to be carried on.

Having become deeply interested in American liberty, the next year he sailed for the new world, bringing a letter of introduction from Benjamin Franklin, whose acquaintance he had formed in London.

Soon after his arrival in Philadelphia, about the beginning of the year 1775, he became a prominent writer in the Pennsylvania Magazine, which quickly brought him into acquaintance with leading men in this country. Born a lover of liberty and a hater of oppression, he warmly espoused the cause of the Colonies. The close of the year drew near, and the situation was critical and dark. Nobody knew what course to take, and yet all the American patriots who had taken their stand against British despotism felt that some decided course must be fixed upon and resolutely carried out. Lexington and Bunker Hill had been fought; an army had been raised; Washington had been made commander-in-chief. But after all what was the issue? What did the Colonies want? Simply the repeal of a tax, or a change in the British ministry? Or did they want, what the wisest were coming more and more to feel they must have sooner or later, and yet what nobody dared to breathe—*independence*?

In December, in the midst of the darkest of the gloom and uncertainty, the whole land was suddenly startled and thrilled as with an electric shock by a pamphlet, which, making its appearance, flew in an incredibly short time over the Colonies from Massachusetts to Georgia. It was Thomas Paine's "Common Sense." Said Dr. Rush of it: "That book burst from the press with an effect that has rarely been produced by types and paper, in any age or country." Major General Lee wrote to General Washington: "Have you seen the pamphlet Common Sense? I never saw such a masterly, irresistible performance. It will, if I mistake not, in concurrence with the transcendent folly and wickedness of the ministry, give the *coup-de-grace* to Great Britain. In short, I own myself convinced of the necessity of separation."

Evidently the pamphlet spoke exactly the brave, clear, strong, decided word that needed to be spoken. With its appearance came speedily a change, and a marked *advance* of public sentiment. By summer the Colonies, which before had hardly allowed the word separation to be breathed, were ready to unite in demanding independence of England; and on the fourth day of July the Continental Congress issued to the world the immortal document which severed all connection between mother and daughter and made us a nation.

I do not assert that without Paine's "Common Sense" the Colonies would not have become independent. No being but God knows

what would have occurred. But in the light of all the facts which we can gather to-day it seems questionable. Says one writer: "It is certainly not too much to claim for it (the "Common sense") that it hastened the Declaration of Independence six or eight weeks. But if the declaration had been delayed eight weeks it might have been delayed a century. It is safe to say that if the declaration had not been adopted before the battle of Long Island (six weeks after the 4th of July) it would not have been adopted after that terrible calamity."

But Paine's work for the cause of American liberty did not stop with this first publication. It continued right on through all the long, wearisome war. He enlisted in the army. And when the dark days came, and hearts began to grow faint, and hope burned low as Washington sullenly retreated from position after position, and Lord Howe laid waste New Jersey, again a pamphlet appeared, written in the tent of the author of "Common Sense"—a pamphlet which flew through the army and through the whole land, putting new life and hope into the heart alike of soldier and citizen. It was the first number of Paine's "Crisis."

In April, 1777, being elected by Congress Secretary to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Mr. Paine left the army for other more important duties, but that first "Crisis" paper which nerved the arms of the American soldiers at Trenton, was followed at brief intervals through the entire war with other papers of the same kind, which were of inestimable value to the American cause. In all those "times that tried men's souls," no word rung through camp and town and country with such courage and cheer and wise counsel as his. Whenever a defeat of the army came a new number of the "Crisis" was sure to appear, plucking out the sting of the defeat, and pointing to the possibilities of victory yet to come. When the heads of the people were turned by some good fortune, immediately a number of the "Crisis" was sure to appear, calling on all to take double diligence lest they be thrown off their guard, and falling into the hands of the wily enemy, lose more than they had gained. Was there a dearth of money and supplies for the army, and did affairs come to the point where it seemed all must be lost because the Colonies would not tax themselves sufficiently to carry on the war, a new number of the "Crisis" would appear, picturing the need and the danger, and pointing out with wonderful clearness and sagacity the practical thing that needed to be done, and the way it could be done. And thus all through those weary seven years of struggle with England Paine's word never failed to appear in the trying hour, and the service it rendered the American cause can never be esti-

mated. No wonder that Paine's greatest enemy wrote: "The cannon of Washington was not more formidable to the British than the pen of the author of "Common Sense."

Nor was Paine's service to his adopted country confined to the channels that I have named. Two years before the close of the war he set on foot a mission to France to obtain money from that Power, and going to France with Col. Laurens, they secured from the French Government a gift of six million livres and a loan of ten millions, by means of which Washington was able to carry on the war successfully to the end.

But I must not dwell longer upon Paine's service to this country during her revolutionary struggle. I have already said enough to show that America owes him a debt of gratitude greater than she can ever repay.

Yet how has she attempted to repay it? American citizens, can you believe me? She has attempted to pay the debt by refusing at the Centennial, not four years ago, even to give a place in Independence Hall to his bust, or in any other way to recognize the man to whom probably more than to any other the independence of the country was due.

"Blow, blow thou winter wind!
Thou art not so unkind
As man's ingratitude."

How poorly did James Monroe understand the American people, when in Paris in 1794, at the close of Paine's noble work in France, he wrote to him: "The crime of ingratitude. I trust, will never stain our national (American) character. You (Paine) are considered by all your countrymen (in the United States) as one who has not only rendered important service to them, but also as one who, on a more extensive scale, has been the friend of human rights, and a distinguished and able advocate of public liberty. To the welfare and worth of Thomas Paine the American people can never be indifferent." Alas! how little did Monroe know what was coming! Imagine him looking down the future to our day and seeing public buildings and grounds and parks all over the United States adorned with statues and busts and portraits of Washington, the Adamses, Franklin, Jefferson and the rest of the glorious revolutionary band, but no public statue or bust or portrait existing anywhere, so far as I have been able to find out, to keep alive popular gratitude to the man who was the first to write the proud words "The United States of America."

And why? Because of theological bigotry! He wrote a book which the Christian public did not like, and so he must be robbed of his name and splendid fame as an American patriot. Pretty soon I shall inquire what the book was. I will stop at this point of my lecture only long enough to ask and answer a

question or two about it. It surely must have been a book against morals, was it not? No. Then it must have been against religion? No. Then certainly against God? No. Then against immortality? No. It was a book not against these, but against the so-called orthodox conception of Christianity.

For daring to write such a book, and in the interest, too, as he believed, of virtue and religion, and truer conception of God, he has been robbed of what to every noble man is dearer than life, viz, the respect and honor of his countrymen. Alas! poor Paine! How fitly might these have been the words inscribed upon your tombstone:

"Good name, in man and woman, dear my lord,
Is the immediate jewel of their souls.
Who steals my purse, steals trash; 'tis something,
nothing;
'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands;
But he that filches from me my good name,
Robs me of that which not enriches him,
And makes me poor indeed."

But to go on with the story of Paine's life. After the close of the war of the revolution he continued for several years to reside in America, making his home as it seems at Bordentown, New Jersey, in a house which had been presented him by the State of New Jersey in recognition of his distinguished public services;—the State of Pennsylvania having made him a present of \$2,500 in money; the general government \$3,000 in money, and the State of New York having given him a farm and residence at New Rochelle. During these years after the war he busied himself with writing on important political subjects, especially those connected with the finances of the Government, and in perfecting an iron bridge which he had invented.

At last, in 1787, desiring to exhibit the model of his bridge in England and France, he left America for the old world, to be gone fifteen years. He went first to Paris and then to London. The distinguished part he had played in American affairs had made him well known abroad, and he was received with marked consideration wherever he went, but especially in France where American ideas were, of course, more popular than in England.

The next three years were spent partly in one country and partly in the other, building his bridge, which proved to be an invention of much importance, and doing more or less miscellaneous political writing. At the end of three years—in 1791—the first part of his celebrated "Rights of Man" appeared, conceded to be the most masterly of all the replies made to Burke's "Reflections on the Revolution in France."

The "Rights of Man" produced almost as powerful an excitement in England as the

"Common Sense" had done in America sixteen years before. One hundred thousand copies are said to have been sold in a very short time in England, and it was soon translated into all the leading languages of Europe. It is doubtless Paine's greatest political work. Aimed against monarchial and aristocratic institutions, and setting forth in a fearless and powerful manner the principles of popular liberty, it could not fail to enrage the Government party in England, who burned its author in effigy, in various towns and cities, and instituted suits against him and his publisher, designing to suppress the book. On the other hand the liberals of the kingdom were loud in its praise, and sang everywhere to the tune of "God Save the King."

"God save great Thomas Paine,
His 'Rights to Man' proclaim
From pole to pole."

Of course this work increased Paine's popularity in France, and the following September four different departments, Calais, Abbeville, Beauvais and Versailles elected him their representative to the French National Convention. He accepted the honor of becoming a Deputy from Calais, and took his seat in the Convention as a member from that department. He was welcomed to France and to his seat in the governing body of the country with most enthusiastic honors.

But a crisis in the affairs of France, which neither he nor any other could foresee, was at hand. The Reign of Terror was drawing nigh. Paine believed with all his heart in the great underlying principles of liberty and equality, which were at the basis of the French Revolution; but he did not believe in the wild, lawless extravagance to which, under blood-thirsty, unprincipled men those principles were soon to be carried. In the Convention he at once and boldly took the side of liberty, but as promptly and boldly he took the side of order and law. All through the wild days that soon came on he voted and acted with the Girondists or moderate Liberals, and against the Jacobins. I know not where there is a braver or nobler act in history than his defense of Louis XVI. and his efforts to save the King's life, by a speech and a vote which he knew would almost certainly cost his own life. This effort resulted in his being thrown into the Luxembourg prison, and kept there about a year, whence he daily expected to be hurried to the guillotine. Indeed, the order was at one time given for his death, and but for a mistake of the jailer in marking his cell door, his head would have fallen.

He wrote the first part of his "Age of Reason" shortly before being cast into confinement. Indeed, he tells us that the writing had not been completed above six hours when the order for his arrest came. On the way to

the prison he left the manuscript with his friend Joel Barlow, with directions for its publication. The second part of his book was written in prison.

Soon after the death of Robespierre Paine was released, and again took his seat in the National Convention. He continued to reside in Paris until 1802, when he returned to the United States, where he spent the rest of his life, making his home part of the time on his farm in New Rochelle, and part of the time with his friends in New York city. He died as I have already said, in 1809, at the age of 72, and found a resting place on his own soil at New Rochelle, whence his remains were taken to England by friends and admirers a few years later. His property, upon which he had been able to live comfortably during his last years, he left by will mainly to a family by the name of Bonneville with whom he had long made his home in Paris. His will closes with these words: "I have lived an honest and useful life to mankind; my time has been spent in doing good; I die in perfect composure and resignation to the will of my Creator God."

A few words about Paine's character, and then I pass to a consideration of his religious writings.

Paine was certainly a *brave* man. In every part of his life his bravery was conspicuous. The out and out stand he took in his "Common Sense" for separation from the mother country was brave almost to temerity. Writing such a work as his "Rights of Man" was a bold thing to do. It was a single man flinging down the gauntlet before all the powers of the British Kingdom. His defense of King Louis XVI. has already been spoken of as an act of extraordinary bravery. Indeed, almost every important step of his life was in the teeth of dangers and opposition that would have completely cowed any but the stoutest heart.

But if he was brave, so was he *conscientious*. He always took his positions from principle and never from policy. He stood firm for what he thought right no matter what it cost him. Probably no public man was ever more perfectly incorruptible. His power as a writer was so great that he had frequent opportunities to make much money by his pen, if only he would write somewhat in the line of the popular demand. But he says I could never "reconcile it to my principles to make money by my politics or my religion; I must be in everything as I have always been, a disinterested volunteer."

He would only write to advance what seemed to him important truth, and to do good according to his ideas of doing good.

Furthermore he was *generous*. Careful in his expenditures for himself, and frugal in his

habits, even somewhat too much so perhaps in his old age, he seems to have had a large heart and an open hand. At one time during our revolution when the Government was greatly in need of money he started a private subscription, putting down his entire year's salary, \$500, though it was all he had to live upon. Such remarkable generosity on his part stimulated others, and the subscription was pushed on until it reached the large sum of £500,000.

Contrary to the general impression he seems to have been a *kind hearted and forgiving* man.

A noble story is told of him in Paris. He was one day dining with some friends at a coffeehouse when an English Captain who had in some way got into the company became engaged in an argument with him. The captain finding himself getting the worst of the argument grew angry and struck Paine a violent blow. He was at once arrested and matters were about to go hard with him, as Paine was a Deputy of the National Convention, and a decree had been passed making it a crime punishable with death for any one to strike a Deputy. Paine at once, however, forgetting his insult and injury, interested himself in the captain's behalf, and with great effort and difficulty got his liberation. And not content with this he supplied the fellow, who was out of funds, with money to get home to England with.

Many severe charges have been made against Paine. But various persons at different times have followed these charges up, and they seem all to reduce down in the end to about these: That he took snuff; was latterly somewhat negligent about his dress, though not more so than a great many other people about him who moved in the first society; and became toward the latter part of his life, after his health grew less firm and his friends began to turn the cold shoulder to him on account of his religious principles, somewhat peevish and jealous, as some thought, and too much addicted to liquor, though we have the testimony on record of his grocer that Paine never bought more than a quart of liquor a week, which is far less than many clergymen in those days whom nobody dreamed of calling hard drinkers habitually consumed.

The story which has been so industriously circulated that Paine died a poor drunken sot seems to be thoroughly false. For in the first place he was not poor, and in the second place "his drinking those last three years was not enough to prevent his writing many able essays, and would not have been heard of but for that heterodoxy which exposeth a multitude of sins."

The story has been widely told of Paine that he sent the manuscript of his "Age of Reason" to Franklin for the latter's advice as

to publishing it, and that Franklin having read the same returned it with the counsel: "Better burn it than print it. Don't unchain the tiger." How ridiculously false this story is will be seen when I remind you that Franklin died in the year 1790, whereas the first part of the "Age of Reason" was not written until 1893. Moreover Franklin's religious views were almost exactly identical with those of Paine.

Another story more shameful still, has been told and retold, and resurrected a hundred times over, after having been shown a hundred times to be false,—the story that Paine died in the most terrible mental agony on account of his religious writings, recanting what he had written, and calling on God to forgive him. I say this story has been proved again and again by the most unimpeachable witnesses to be utterly without foundation. Everything goes to show that Paine died in exactly the same views on religious subjects which he had long entertained, and that these views gave him peace and comfort as he drew near death, instead of anxiety and terror.

I turn now to a consideration of his religious writings—their character and influence. First and by far the most important of all stands the "Age of Reason," in two parts; the first part written as I have said just before he was thrown into the Paris prison, where he expected to lose his life, and the second part while he was in prison.

It is often charged upon Paine that he wrote what he wrote on religious subjects, wantonly, hastily, without earnestness or serious purpose; or if not that, then wickedly, basely, for the sake of wilfully poisoning men's minds and overthrowing what is highest and holiest in the world. How far this is from the truth will be seen as soon as we read the opening paragraph of his "Age of Reason." That work begins: "It has been my intention for several years past to publish my thoughts upon religion. I am well aware of the difficulties that attend the subject, and from that consideration have reserved it to a more advanced period of life. I intended it to be the *last* offering I should make to my fellow citizens of all nations, and that at a time when the purity of the motive that induced me to it, could not admit of a question, even by those who might disapprove the work." Are these the words of one who writes hastily, or without serious purpose, or with wicked heartlessness? Remember that the man who wrote them was past sixty years of age, had won a fame scarcely second to that of any man of his time, which he was hazarding by writing such a book as the "Age of Reason," and then, third, remember that as he wrote he constantly looked death in the face—the probability being with any page that it might be

his last. Remember all that, and then say if you can that the book is not at least an earnest book, and a book written with a serious and pure, however mistaken, purpose.

The enemies of Paine have almost everywhere given out the impression that he was an atheist, and a reviler against all religion. Nothing could possibly be farther from the truth. Here is what he says in the "Age of Reason" about God: "Do we want to contemplate his power? We see it in the immensity of the Creation. Do we want to contemplate his power? We see it in the unchangeable order by which the incomprehensible whole is governed. Do we want to contemplate his munificence? We see it in the abundance with which he fills the earth. Do we want to contemplate his mercy? We see it in his not withholding that abundance even from the unthankful. In fine, do we want to know what God is? Search not the book called the Scripture, which any human hand might make, but the scripture called Creation."

Pages 31 to 36 of the "Age of Reason" are a noble plea for the doctrine that both nature and reason teach the existence of God. To the same thought Paine returns again and again in his various writings. His complete works contain a lecture delivered by him before a religious society of which he was an active member in Paris, in which he makes probably as clear and strong an argument as at that time had ever been made for the Divine Existence as proved from the works of creation.

His belief in religion was as earnest as his belief in God. Defining what he understood religion to be, he says: "I believe in the equality of man; and I believe that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavoring to make our fellow creatures happy." On the subject of a future existence he says: "I hope for happiness after this life; * * I consider myself in the hands of my Creator, and that He will dispose of me after this life consistently with his justice and goodness. I leave these things in the hands of Him as my Creator and friend." It would be easy to make an entire lecture with quotations from Paine's writings, showing how earnest was his belief in religion, in philanthropy, in immortality, in God, and how deep was his desire that men's ideas of all these should be pure and high—separated from hurtful superstitions.

Probably the popular conception of Paine as an atheist and an irreligious man comes in some part from the fact that his defense has devolved so largely upon atheists. Such openly atheistic papers as the *Boston Investigator* have stood by him when other papers which ought to have been his friends have

failed. Paine Memorial Hall in Boston has been built and managed in the interest of atheism. Atheist men and atheist papers, some of them of a morally and intellectually high type, and some, it must be confessed, of a morally and intellectually very coarse and low type, have put themselves forward as his special champions. This may have been necessary on account of the unwillingness of anybody else to do him justice. But it has given a false impression as to his theological views. It has tended to identify him in the popular thought with a class of men with whom theologically he does not belong.

But without further delay let us turn to the "Age of Reason" to inquire, not what this or that fragment of the book may teach, but what the whole teaches. Let us glance rapidly, yet as carefully as may be, through it all. Thus better than in any other way shall we be able to get a clear and comprehensible understanding of Paine's religious positions.

At the end of the First Part of the book the author himself gives a summary of its contents, which I cannot do better than quote. The things which he attempts to show in that portion of the work are: "First, that the idea or belief of a word of God existing in print, or in writing, or in speech, is inconsistent in itself, for various reasons, among which are the want of a universal language; the mutability of language; the errors to which translations are subject; the possibility of totally suppressing such a Word; the probability of its being altered, or fabricated, or imposed upon the world.

Second, that the creation we behold is the real and ever-existing word of God, in which we cannot be deceived. It proclaims his power; it demonstrates his wisdom; it manifests his goodness and beneficence.

Third, that the moral duty of man consists in imitating the moral goodness and beneficence of God, manifested in creation toward all his creatures. That, seeing as we do daily the goodness of God to all men, it is an example calling upon all men to practice the same toward each other, and consequently that everything of persecution and revenge between man and man, and everything of cruelty to animals is a violation of moral duty." The whole closes with an affirmation of the author's belief in immortality.

This is a summary of the First Part of the terrible "Age of Reason."

In the Second Part the author deals less with general principles, and enters more into particulars,—taking up the Bible and going through it from first to last in the order of its books, and commenting upon and criticising what he finds and endeavoring to make good his claim that the volume is not a supernatural revelation. Let me give a brief summary of

this second part, in words not my own but very just and discriminating:

"Beginning with the Pentateuch, Mr. Paine denies its Mosaic authorship, first because it is written *about* Moses, and then because of its contradictory statements, which make it most unlikely that it was written by any one man: then because of its reference to events which happened long after Moses' death. For similar reasons he refuses to believe that Joshua wrote the book which bears his name or Samuel the books of Samuel. He has a quick eye for the discovery of inconsistencies between the books of Kings and Chronicles, though any modern critic could suggest a score for any one he names. Without denying that the books of Ezra and Nehemiah were written by those persons, he impeaches their history, character and general accuracy. A few words suffice him for the Psalms and Proverbs,—denying the Davidic authorship of the former as a whole, which even then was a safe thing to do, and the Solomonic authorship of the latter. But he is inclined to allow that Solomon wrote Ecclesiastes, largely, I fear, because he thinks it does him no credit; drawing a most invidious comparison between Solomon's old age and that of Benjamin Franklin. With the Song of Songs he is equally uncritical.

The minor prophets he does not consider. The major ones he treats with dreadful incivility, but not without some clear perception of the incongruities of Isaiah considered as a single book.

Approaching the New Testament he dwells with dubious delight upon the miraculous birth of Jesus, and then proceeds to set forth the inconsistencies and contradictions of the four Gospels, first, as proving that they were not written by eye-witnesses of the events recorded; and second, as proving that they were not the outcome of concerted imposition.

Paine's statements concerning the formation of the New Testament canon are rough in the extreme, but they involve the substantial truth and argument that in the course of two or three centuries the gospels *came to be regarded* as the work of those whose names they have since borne; and that such a gradual discovery is but a poor foundation for the claim of supernatural revelation. As for Paul's Epistles he assures us that it is of little consequence who wrote them. They rest upon the Gospels and must stand or fall with them. But evidently Paine had a very poor opinion of St. Paul and his writings.

The second part of the "Age of Reason" concludes, as does the first part, with a presentation of the argument for natural religion, and an assertion of its vast superiority to the system calling itself revealed.

Here then we have a summary of the volume which probably it would be safe to say has made more commotion in the theological world than any other book of modern times.

We have only one important theological work from Paine besides the "Age of Reason." That is "An Examination of the Passages in the New Testament quoted from the Old and called Prophecies." In this work he undertakes to show that the passages quoted in the New Testament from the Old as prophecies, are in no sense prophecies; that they were originally spoken or written with no reference at all to any such events as those to which they are applied by the New Testament writers.

We have now before us essentially Paine's views of the Bible, as set forth in his religious writings. And we must bear in mind that it was his attacks upon the Bible that were the head and front of his offending. What he said upon other subjects, or in opposition to this, that or the other doctrine of the popular theology could have been overlooked, if only he had left the Bible alone. But when he attacked its infallibility and supernatural character, all the Protestant world felt that he was aiming a blow at the very heart of their system, and so all denominations made common cause against him.

Of the number of replies made to his "Age of Reason" we can form no estimate. We can only say, their name is legion. Almost immediately after the publication of the First Part the replies began; and still they continue, in one form or another. But Paine's work lives on, and, Boston and New York booksellers say, finds a larger sale now than ever before; while the replies have gone out almost at once, like the flash of a fire-fly.

The causes that have operated to make the "Age of Reason" live are several. First of all it has been an extraordinarily advertised book. Its enemies have kept it advertised, by their denunciations of it, as almost no other book has been kept advertised.

Again, it is a book of extraordinary vigor, point and power of statement. Modern times has produced no abler writer for the masses than Paine. Not a scholar, not a profound thinker, he was yet a man of knowledge, a very clear thinker, and the master of a style as terse and strong as can be found in any English writer.

Again he was intensely in earnest. He did nothing at the valves. As I have already said, he never wrote for pay or popularity, He never wrote until he had something within him that burned for utterance; as a result when he wrote his words were burning words. It is as great folly to charge the *Age of Reason* with not being a sincere and earnest book, as it would be to charge his *Common Sense*, or

his *Crisis* papers, with not being sincere and earnest utterances. If Paine's religious writings—written as I have shown they were, most of them with death staring him in the face—were not earnest writings, then the world has never seen any earnest writings. The truth is, it is their absolutely tremendous earnestness, that gives them no inconsiderable part of their power, for good or for evil.

Finally, the most important of all reasons why the "Age of Reason" has lived is because its fundamental positions are impregnable. Though for three quarters of a century it has been

"Stormed at with shot and shell,"

and though

"Cannon to right of it,
Cannon to left of it,
Cannon in front of it,"

shot to the muzzle with every rebutting argument that human ingenuity could invent, plus unlimited misrepresentation and abuse, have day and night

"Volley'd and thundered."

yet never did Paine's book, as to its leading, central principles stand as firm as to-day. True, a great deal that the "Age of Reason" says regarding the Bible, has been outgrown and discredited by the more thorough and critical biblical scholarship that has come into existence since its author's day. But what may be singled out as the "three great claims" that run through the entire book, and to establish which the book was written, viz:—First, *the impossibility of a printed, infallible revelation from God*: Second, *the certainty that at least our Bible is not such an infallible revelation*; and Third, *the essential religiousness of science*—these three central claims stand to-day, and all the advance of thought and scholarship since Paine's time have only revealed more clearly how firm was the ground upon which he planted his feet in making these claims. Indeed it is curious to notice how the best scholarship of the world, even the best orthodox scholarship, is coming round to the position of Paine as regards these central claims. Says John W. Chadwick, "Not merely modern heterodoxy, but modern orthodoxy, can, for every contradiction or inaccuracy pointed out by Paine, in the Bible, point out a dozen. The new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* contains an article on the Bible, written by a theological professor of the Free Church of Scotland, the most Conservative branch of the Scotch church, for which the writer has been charged with heresy, and tried by his denomination and formally acquitted. And yet this article is more radically destructive of the popular conception of the Bible than anything which Paine could write, with his deficient culture, in that early dawn of Bible criticism. The negative conclusions

of this Presbyterian theological professor are more numerous and more revolutionary than Paine's; and where Paine's were brilliant guesses the Presbyterian theologian's are irrefragable proofs." For mark! "Paine denied the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. But this Presbyterian professor, does as much and more. He assigns the book of Deuteronomy to the seventh century B. C.—600 years after the time of Moses, and the remainder of the Pentateuch in its present form to a still later period—800 years after the death of Moses."

Shade of Thomas Paine! how would you stand dumb with amazement if you could come back to earth, and see yourself out done in this fashion, by a great orthodox theologian, in good and regular standing in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland! But some one may say that this is only a single point in which scholarship is confirming the ideas of Paine. Not so. The same is essentially true all along the line of Bible criticism. Our Presbyterian theological professor, (and I only speak of him because he is a representative man, the really best scholarship of the day, both heterodox and orthodox stands at his back) our professor comes to conclusions regarding the books of Joshua, Judges, Kings and Samuel, quite as destructive of the popular conception of them as contemporaneous histories, as are the conclusions which he has reached regarding the Pentateuch; and as to the book of Chronicles he seems to think it probable that that came into existence as late as 300 B. C. "Of the Psalms, this Presbyterian professor confidently assigns two to David, and only two! Daniel, allowed by Paine to have been written during the captivity, he assigns to the last half of the second century B. C., about 170. Paine's feeling of the incongruity of different portions of Isaiah is justified by the discovery that the last 27 chapters were written by some great unknown 150 years after the real Isaiah.

So runs the course of orthodox criticism on the Old Testament; and coming to the New Test. it is much the same. Prof. Robertson Smith of Aberdeen, (that is the gentleman's name to whom I have been referring) declares that the Gospels are 'unapostolic digests' of the second century, A. D., and other critics quite as orthodox and in as good and regular standing, assign the fourth Gospel to the middle of the second century, and allow to Paul but four or five Epistles." Thus it is that the most learned modern criticism, even as it comes to us through the best orthodox channels, is actually going ahead of Paine, so far as its negative results are concerned. That is to say it is coming to conclusions as to the origin, dates, authorship and manner of composition of the various books of the Bible, which leave even less ground for any theory of infallibility or

of poetical rhapsodies and predictions was an almost insignificant part of their work. They were the great moral and religious reformers of their day: they were heroic rebukers of wrong, bold chastisers of corruption in government and society, brave smiters of religious hypocrisy and formalism, idol-breakers, leaders of the people forward, with no honied words, toward higher and purer truth and life. Hardly a man of modern times has had the spirit of the old Hebrew prophet more perfectly than Paine himself. If he had lived in Palestine seven hundred years before Christ, instead of in America eighteen hundred years after Christ, he would have been a commanding figure among the prophets of Jehovah. It seems very strange that he did not feel the kinship between them and him, between the work they were set to do in their day and the work he was set to do in his. That he was so blind to the moral grandeur of their character and mission, it seems impossible to account for on any supposition only that he was prejudiced against them from the mere fact that they were Bible characters. Jesus too, Paine comes far from doing justice by, and it would seem from the same prejudice. One would think he would have been filled with enthusiastic admiration for the singularly outspoken and courageous religious reformer of Nazareth. True, he always does speak of him kindly. For example, in the first part of the "Age of Reason" he says: "Nothing that I have said can apply even with the most distant disrespect to the real character of Jesus Christ. He was a virtuous and amiable man. The morality that he preached and practiced was of the most benevolent kind; and though similar systems of morality had been preached by Confucius, and by some of the Greek philosophers, many ages before, and by many good men in all ages, it has not been exceeded by any." But though Paine always speaks thus appreciatively of Jesus' purity and goodness, he seems to have had no adequate conception of his strength and greatness, or of the importance of the work he did for the world. If Paine had lived amidst the clearer light of today, he would have had a much juster understanding of both Jesus and the prophets, than it was possible for him to have at the beginning of this century, and therefore I think we may be sure he would have written of both in a very different manner.

Another thing which Paine seems not to have known about the Bible, which would have changed his estimate of it morally, was, that it does not anywhere *claim* to be *infallible*. He seems to think it does claim to be infallible. Hence when he finds in it plain and overwhelming proofs that it is not infallible, he is naturally tempted to denounce it as making false pretenses.

Finally he seems to have held the Bible responsible for all the theology of orthodox. All sects profess to find their theology in the Bible, and so he sets down to the account of the Bible, many doctrines which the Bible certainly by any fair and honest and intelligent interpretation does not teach.

Thus we see that the work which Paine did for the Bible was a work of mixed intelligence and unintelligence, truth and error, good and evil.

On the whole I believe his Bible criticism has done good. I believe all lovers of truth and purity in religion owe him a great debt of gratitude for doing so much—more I believe than any other one man—to break down that doctrine, harmful alike to morals, religion and free thought, that the Bible is an infallible book, and for helping so effectually as he did to bring in such conceptions of the Bible as relieve God from responsibility for a great many dark things found in the Bible which He certainly is responsible for, if the Bible is an infallible book and His revelation to men. But while we owe Thomas Paine gratitude for this great and important service, which he has rendered, to free thought, morals, religion, and the Bible itself, it is also right and important that we should open our eyes to the serious defects of his writings—defects some of them, as we have seen, incident to the age in which he lived, but some of them also defects for which we must hold him responsible.

And it is important also for us to open our eyes to the fact that the work that ought now to be done for liberal thought is of a higher order than that which can be done by the works of Paine. While Paine's negative criticism of the Bible is, as I have shown, in large part true—as to the Bible's unscientific character, and the fact that it contains inaccuracies, contradictions, and low conceptions of morality, and as to the doubt that hangs over the authorship and date of many of its books, and so on, there is a positive work that should now be done regarding the Bible which Paine can't do at all. In other words while the "Age of Reason" tells pretty well what the Bible is not, it fails utterly to tell what it is. And we have now reached the point where scholars at least know what the Bible is; and the work that is now needing to be done for the world is to let the *people* know not simply what the Bible is not, but what it is.

So that profoundly grateful as I am to Paine for the work he has done, for the Bible and religion, I am sorry to see his "Age of Reason" longer generally circulated. That is to say, I want the time to come when its place shall be filled by other books which can do for the Bible and religion what it can no longer do. It would certainly be foolish for us to ignore the advance that has been made in other de-

partments of science during the past eighty years, and go on reading books upon Astronomy and Chemistry written at the beginning of the century as if they contained the best word now accessible upon those subjects. But the advance in knowledge of the Bible, as to what the book really is, and how it came into existence, and upon the whole subject of biblical criticism, which has been made during the past eighty years has been greater than that made in astronomy, and nearly as great as that made in chemistry. True, up to five years ago the flood of new light which the scholarship of Germany, Holland, France and England had poured upon the Bible was confined to foreign languages or to very expensive books imported from England. But that is the case no longer. Now the whole rich mine of new knowledge regarding the Bible, is open to all who care to read, and in books which are as frank and fearless as the "Age of Reason," while at the same time they are thoroughly appreciative of all that is beautiful and noble in the sacred writings.*

There are many other things I wanted to say in this lecture about Mr. Paine. Especially I wanted to tell you at greater length than I have done, how earnestly he believed in religion, and virtue, and God and immortality, and to emphasize the fact that his tremendous fight against the infallibility of the Bible was

prompted by his feeling that that doctrine makes God responsible for dark and cruel and unjust deeds that we have no right to make God responsible for.

But my time is gone. I cannot do better than close by quoting these two sayings of Paine, which are so noble that I wish they could be printed in golden letters in every Christian church in the world: "Any system of theology that shocks the mind of a child cannot be a true system."

"The world is my country, and to do good is my religion."

*I have been requested to give the names of a few such books, which of course I cheerfully do. For all who can afford so expensive a work I unhesitatingly recommend above all others "The Bible for Learners," 3 vols., written by three eminent Dutch scholars, and republished in this country in an excellent English translation, by Roberts Brothers, Boston. Volumes I and II cover the Old Testament, and cost \$2.00 each; Volume III treats the New Testament and costs \$2.50. For persons who want something less voluminous and more inexpensive I recommend either or all of the following works: "The Bible of To-day," by Rev. John W. Chadwick, price \$1.50; "A Rational View of the Bible," by Rev. N. H. Mann, price 50 cents; "God and the Bible" and "Literature and Dogma," by Matthew Arnold, \$1.50 each. It may be allowable for me to mention also in this connection my own book published a year ago by G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y., entitled "What is the Bible?" price \$1.00.

TALMAGE AS A SIGN OF THE TIMES.

BY REV. J. T. SUNDERLAND.

A Lecture Delivered in the Unitarian Church, Ann Arbor, Mich., Sunday Evening, April 20, 1879.

"The Brooklyn trial is a heavy strain on the community. If the cause of religion can endure it, it can endure anything. Sceptics are having a good time and will have enough to talk about for months to come. The hisses, the applause, the partisanship and the strong adjectives show, that even clerical human nature is intensely human. In the Nicene Council of the fourth century the contestants almost came to blows, and fifteen hundred years have added too little to the dignity which is becoming under such grave circumstances."—*New York Herald*.

"The trial of Talmage over in Brooklyn has turned out, as we anticipated, a most amusing farce—very like the services in Talmage's church. There has been an immense and uproarious audience during the proceedings, which the Presbytery, which calls itself 'the Court of Jesus Christ,' has been entirely unable to control. The sympathies of this crowd, we need hardly say, have all been with the defendant; they greeted him with thunders of applause whenever he rose, as he has several times done, to 'hurl defiance' at his foes. The counsel on both sides are ministers, and their discussions have been acrimonious beyond anything known at the secular bar, in courts of record at least. No witnesses were ever funnier than the managing editor and publisher of Talmage's old paper, the *Christian at Work*, one of the charges being that when Talmage was 'the Christian' of that periodical, part of 'his work' consisted in cheating his partners. There was one very ludicrous scene when the Moderator tried during one of the pauses in the middle of the drolery to have a hymn sung. The opening lines of that which was suggested, 'Blest be the tie that binds,' fairly brought down the house, and a suggestion of the Lord's Prayer was equally mirth-producing. But nothing excited so much merriment as the Moderator's proposal that, on the failure of the hymns, they should pass a few moments in 'sacred silence.' This was more than the audience could bear, and they doubted themselves up with laughter."—*New York Nation*.

Whenever we see any man rising into eminence—good eminence or bad—we know that he is to some extent an exponent of the society and the time in which he lives: certain great influences or forces of the time, good or evil, have, as it were, gathered themselves up and given themselves concrete expression in him, and he stands not simply for himself but for them too. This fact it is that makes it worth while to study carefully the preacher whose trial in Brooklyn is attracting so much attention. Mr. Talmage has been very prominently before the public for some years. For a good while his Tabernacle has been one of the famous institutions of the metropolis.

Beginning in Brooklyn a dozen or so years ago, with a society which, my impression is, was by no means conspicuous, he has from the first drawn to hear him great crowds of people, has had many additions to his church, which additions he has always taken great pains to herald over the country, and in every way has been a decided sensation. He has written a good deal for certain religious papers, and always in the most sensational style. For a considerable time he was editor of a paper—the "*Christian at Work*"—of which I speak very calmly when I say he made it the most fiery, extravagant, and unreliable religious publication in the land. Several volumes of his sermons have been published, full of thoughts that are the veriest commonplace, but all clothed in language and imagery the most startling and overdrawn that it is possible for ordinary persons to conceive. For several years he has been quite in demand as a lecturer; and it is not to be wondered at, since he certainly has a good deal of a certain kind of power, both tragic and comic, over an audience. Attention was called to him last winter more prominently than perhaps ever before by explorations which he made in connection with the chief of police, of the slums and vile places of New York, and the account he gave of the same in a series of Sunday night lectures in his church. These lectures were listened to, of course, by great crowds, and were widely published in the papers of the country.

Now he is brought again prominently before the public by the fact that his denomination are trying him on charges of various irregularities and immoralities. Ecclesiastical trials are apt to attract a good deal of attention; and Mr. Talmage's thus far seems to be developing sensational elements quite equal to any we have had in the country for some years, except Mr. Beecher's. When his trial is over, particularly if the revelations turn out to be bad, as they now promise to do, it seems likely that he will be in more demand as a lecturer, and more popular as a preacher, than ever before.

The question I wish to ask to-night is, What does it mean that a career like this of Mr. Talmage is possible in this country?

Nobody claims that Mr. Talmage is a man of much scholarship. All his sermons, lectures and newspaper articles proclaim with one voice that he is a man of very limited power of thought. This trial seems to be making undeniable, what many thought undeniable before, that he is almost utterly without honesty, honor, truthfulness, or anything that will bear to be called moral character. His theology is of the most narrow and unenlightened kind. He is through and through a sensationalist—seemingly aiming at nothing higher, ever, than popular effect—and to produce this not scrupling to paint the most extravagant pictures, and to distort truth until often it is no longer recognizable. As the soldier sometimes adopts the motto, "Everything is fair in war," so Mr. Talmage seems to adopt the motto "Everything is justifiable in my pulpit which will help me to draw a crowd and make a sensation." I suppose it would hardly be going beyond strict and candid truth to assign to the Brooklyn Tabernacle pulpit the same place among the pulpits in the land, that we give the New York *Weekly* and the *Police Gazette* among the papers of the country. The New York *Nation* declares that Mr. Talmage attracts for precisely the same reasons that the *opera bouffe* attracts, and that the deliverances and performances of the Tabernacle pulpit are simply "pulpit bouffe." And this declaration of the *Nation* seems to be very generally agreed to by the better part of the press of the land.

But now this would seem to be a strange thing that such a man could keep his place so long in good standing in the Christian ministry, and gather about him so large a religious society, and become and remain so popular throughout the country as preacher, lecturer, maker of Sunday school and Y. M. C. A. addresses and religious writer. What does it mean? Where are we to find the explanation? I am sure an examination of these questions cannot fail to be of value as a study of the religious condition of our age.

1. First of all, I think Mr. Talmage's career reveals to us the fact that religion in our day is patronized and sustained by large classes of persons primarily on account of the *mental excitement* it furnishes.

Just as there seems to be a sort of innate demand in the *physical* systems of many persons for some kind of intoxicants—so there seems to be a corresponding demand in the *minds* and especially in the *emotional* natures of many for intoxicants. With one class of persons this mental demand is met primarily by novel reading—novel reading of the exciting, sensational kind. In another class it is met chiefly by thea-

tre-going; in another by a gay and headlong round of parties, balls and social festivities; in another, among men, and in certain social circles even among women, by playing games of chance and gambling; while another class still find their mental intoxication in such kinds of religion as appeal powerfully to their hopes and fears, and play largely upon their emotions. There are vast numbers of people, all over the country, but particularly perhaps in all our large cities, who depend as much upon—who *live* as much upon—the unhealthy excitement which they get from religion, as any theatre-goer or novel-reader upon the excitement of novels or theatres. There is a very large class of religious people whose religious lives are unnatural and feverish to the highest degree. It is this class that Mr. Talmage, and with him the revival preachers of the country, feeds, interests. Without this class of people there could be no Talmage, and few, if any, revivalists. While on the other hand Talmage and such as follow Talmage's methods, and the revivalists of the land, generally, do a great deal to keep alive all this unhealthy religious emotionalism and to multiply the class who depend upon religious excitement as the toper upon his liquor, or as the habitual novel reader upon the last sensational novel, or as the constant theatre-goer upon the last exciting play.

It is a great pity to have religion thus distorted, turned out of its proper channel, degraded. The true idea of religion is as something which makes men calm and thoughtful—something which, finding men in the intoxication of ambition and sin, leads them to soberness and virtue; something which, finding them in fever of worry and care and unrest, calms them into peace and mental health. In the parable of the Prodigal Son you know Jesus illustrates the entrance upon a religious life, after a life of irreligion, as a coming to one's "right mind." And religion, as taught by Jesus and as conceived of by all noblest religious teachers of the world, is just that—a coming to one's right mind. It is sanity; it is soberness; it is peace; it is living a life of mental, moral, spiritual, health. It has no connection whatever with that so-called religion which seeks to alarm men by sensational pictures of hell and heaven, and which delights in pathetic and horrible stories of death-bed scenes—that kind of so-called religion whose uppermost thought is, "fly the wrath to come," "accept the offers of mercy, before it is everlastingly too late," make your peace with God," "you must be a lover of the Lord or you can't go to heaven when you die"—that kind of religion which never tires of describing and ringing the changes upon the physical agonies of Christ on the cross, and picturing his blood streaming and warm, as a means of

exciting people's feelings—as if such excitement of the feelings had any necessary connection whatever with making people purer and better.

A woman of excitable temperament sits in her easy chair at home and weeps as she reads in her novelette the touching, highly wrought description of the death of the favorite character of her story. Another woman of the same temperament goes the same evening to the theatre and weeps equally copiously over the tragic and touching death of a favorite character in the play. The same night a third woman of the same kind of temperament who can't live without the precious consolation (she should have said intoxication) of so-called religion, goes to hear Mr. Talmage, and weeps, oh! such beautiful and delicious tears over the story of Calvary, or over the pathetic picture of the death of a fair-haired little girl who wanted to be an angel. The first two of these women never think of calling their emotion religious—never suspect that their tears are well pleasing to God, or have any efficacy to save their souls. But the woman whose tears are shed in a church instead of in a parlor or a theatre, and whose feelings are wrought up by sensational pictures drawn by a preacher, instead of exactly similar sensational pictures drawn by a novelist or actor, goes home feeling that she has been very near heaven, and passed through a religious experience very well pleasing to God, and has made a most blessed advance in the Christian life.

I visited the State insane asylum at Kalamazoo two weeks ago, and on my way through the institution when I got to the chapel I asked the gentleman who was conducting me, how many of the patients of the asylum attend the religious exercises on Sunday. He replied, "Perhaps a quarter." "Not more than that?" I said with astonishment. "No," he continued, "for a good many of them had their insanity brought on by religious excitement, and all that class, of course, it would not do to have attend the religious services." What a commentary upon religion! that it is one of the chief producing causes of insanity in this country. And yet what wonder that such doctrines as those which lie at the heart of the orthodox theology—a fallen race, a crucified God, and an eternal hell—should drive people who really believe them, into insanity! The wonder is that they do not make far more people crazy. They would, only most people do not more than half believe them, and so the strain on the mind is just so much eased. But of the preachers in America who preach the dark doctrines in all their horror, and seem fairly to gloat and dance over the horror, and paint it in its most lurid lights, and hence make religion as great a producer of insanity as it well can be made, Mr. Tal-

mage unquestionably stands foremost. The papers, you know, told us a few winters ago of a young lady spending a Sunday in New York who went over to Brooklyn in the evening and heard Mr. Talmage preach a sermon on hell, was thrown, by the horrid pictures he painted, into convulsions, and died before morning.

We may say it is amazing that such a man can get people to go and hear him. Perhaps it would be, only for two facts.

In the first place all the popular creeds, denominations and churches of the land are built upon these very doctrines which Mr. Talmage holds up in their ghastly deformity; and if they are true, as it is the general supposition that they are, then Mr. Talmage is right. He ought to use plain words as he does, and vivid imagery as he does. For if they are true they are more awful than even Talmage can represent. If there is an eternal hell, Talmage's worst pictures of it are nothing to the reality. If the race is a fallen race, the true state of the case is a thousand times more dreadful than Talmage ever sketched. If God was crucified on Calvary, ten thousand Talmages cannot paint the stupendous significance of the event.

But a second thing goes far, I think, toward explaining why the Brooklyn Tabernacle preacher can get a hearing, and that is the fact that there is in humanity a lingering trace of the far-off savage, shall I not say the far-off tiger beyond the savage? which somehow finds a sort of secret satisfaction in pain and agony and sights of blood and horror. In old Roman times delicate ladies would witness a gladiatorial show and all the blood and slaughter of the arena, with delight. The same is true now adays in connection with the bull fights of Spain. There is something wonderfully fascinating to many persons in a cock fight, or a pugilistic encounter, or an execution. A well-acted tragedy on the stage, involving intense suffering and death, is a fascination to multitudes. A public lecturer like Mr. Gough, who can shock and startle his audiences, and make them weep with pathetic stories, is very much enjoyed by great numbers of persons—and enjoyed for his very power to horrify and bring tears.

It is this power in Mr. Talmage, as it is this power in great revivalists like Moody, Whitfield and Elder Knapp, that gives them no small part of their attractiveness to the multitudes who flock to hear them. Men and women find a sort of strange pleasure in having their feelings played upon—whether the feelings of pity, sympathy, hope, or even dread or horror—and seek hardly anything more eagerly than opportunity to get them thus played upon. And if they can get it done under the name of religion, and, while receiv-

the strange pleasure of it, can believe that they are also serving God and somehow gaining the salvation of their souls, why so much the more are they delighted. This intense working up of the emotions is the central power of the ordinary revival; but in the case of the revival it usually lasts only a few weeks and then subsides so as to allow those who have been under the strain to find relaxation and rest, if not indeed to sink into a religious torpor as great as has been the preceding zeal and excitement. But Talmage endeavors to keep up the excitement in the Brooklyn Tabernacle all the year round. With him it is perpetual and unceasing thunder and lightning and tempest; with him the fires of God's wrath and vengeance are never allowed to smolder but are kept burning perpetually in sight of saint and sinner; with him the blood of the victim of Calvary is never staunch, but flows with its warm current from wounds forever reopened, and forever within sight of all eyes; with him religion is perpetual excitement, perpetual intoxication, perpetual fever.

Mr. Talmage, then, as a sign of the times in religion, stands first of all as an illustration or embodiment of that low conception of religion which makes it to consist primarily of excitement of the feelings, and spasmodic action of the will produced by excited feelings. And, as I have said, of this low conception of religion, he is at once a consequent and cause. If this low conception were not already very widely prevalent in society, such men as Mr. Talmage would not be tolerated, much less patronized and petted. While, on the other hand, without such men as he to preach perpetually such hot-house notions of religion, it would be a great deal easier task to get rid of it and to lead the people up to something better. The appetite of a community for religious sensationalism grows by being pandered to.

2. But again, I think Mr. Talmage's career not only reveals the fact that there is in society a wide-spread love for emotional excitement, and a disposition to mistake that for religion, but I think it also reveals the love of our American people for *caricature* and *comedy*. The New York Nation was right in its article of a month ago when it represented Mr. Talmage as the prince of pulpit bouffists, and went on to say of him, "He makes no attempt to conceal the fact that bouffe is his specialty. He defended himself one Sunday, not long ago, against the charge of assuming levity, by showing that while other churches were, as he said, 'the great dormitories of civilization,' in his church nobody ever slept a wink. In fact, he keeps the congregation in a roar, or with a twinkle in their eye, during the whole service. It is not very long since his invitation, 'Let us sing a hymn,' brought

out a shout of laughter, just as it would have done at the comic opera, owing to the queer collocation in which he produced it."

Just what do we mean by "pulpit bouffe?" As the Nation points out, "The main ingredient of pulpit bouffe is essentially the same as that of opera bouffe. It consists in the irreverent treatment of things which people have been in the habit of looking on with reverence. In the first stage of this the shock is too great for laughter; but when the people have become a little used to it, it supplies a kind of fun which they relish enormously, especially if they have been strictly brought up. In the opera bouffe the humor lies in a kind of reversal of the moral order of society. A cowardly Colonel who runs away in the field is at once promoted and decorated. A defaulting banker is made State Treasurer. The King's privy councillors, grave and elderly men, go out of the royal presence dancing a jig. In the pulpit, in like manner, there are two essential features in the bouffe method. The first is the presentation of the Deity as governing the universe justly, but still, on the humorous plan—that is, convicting the sinner by getting the better of him—or in other words, being too smart for him. In fact, the sinner usually appears in the sermons of the (bouffe) school as a person who suffers for his simplicity, and generally cuts a ludicrous figure when wickedness is brought to light. The second (essential feature) is an appeal to the risibility which always lies concealed in decayed reverence. When there has been a distinct decline in a man's capacity for awe, his sense of the comical is always touched by seeing the old objects of his worship treated with a good-humored disrespect and familiarity. People who have received a religious education, but who have fallen away from their early teachings, are, therefore, apt to be much tickled by a slightly comic handling of what they once held sacred. The sweetness of laughter on solemn occasions and in forbidden places is well-known to everybody, but it is hardly any sweeter than the laughter of the irreverent religious man at the attempts of his pastor to make the gospel entertaining to him, (as Mr. Talmage constantly attempts to make it entertaining,) or to present the wicked in the light of greenhorns"—as Mr. Talmage habitually presents them.

It would be hard to conceive of anything that more effectually operates to destroy what is deepest and noblest in religion than this humorous treatment of sacred things. It tends to undermine all reverence; and when there is no longer anything left that people regard as sacred, there is certainly little left for religion to build upon.

Perhaps the worst thing about this

turning of religion into comedy is that once begun there is no way of controlling it. Just as a preacher who begins relying upon exciting men's emotions for his success, must go on exciting their emotions more and more powerfully in order to produce the same effect, so a preacher who introduces comedy into his sermons must introduce it more and more. "The jokes have to grow day by day more palpable, and the colors to be laid on more deeply as the congregation's sense of decorum declines." Thus Mr. Talmage has gone on from bad to worse, becoming more and more of a pulpit clown as the years have succeeded each other.

How lamentable all this is, not only for Mr. Talmage's own sake, and the sake of his congregation, but for the sake of his influence upon the religion of the country, I need not say. If he were an unknown man, occupying a humble position, it would be a comparatively light matter. But his abilities as a pulpit sensationist and comedian have won him eminence, and his influence now goes out far.

No doubt the decaying reverence of the country for many things which have been regarded as sacred, has much to do with producing Talmage. Without such decay there would be no place in connection with American religion for pulpit bouffe. But no doubt also that a pulpit comedian like Mr. Talmage is a great producer of irreverence, as well a product of it. The decaying reverence of the time gives him a foot-hold and a following, but once having obtained a foot hold and a following he does more than probably any other man in America, not even excepting Mr. Ingersoll, to tear down and destroy what reverence still remains, and turn all religion into a farce.

3. But if Mr. Talmage stands for emotional excitement pushed to intoxication, in religion, and for pulpit comedy, he also stands for something even more harmful still, viz., *a religion which puts dogmas above virtue and theological shibboleths above character.*

Some four years ago, when I was living in Massachusetts, Mr. Talmage came to Boston and preached. A great throng gathered to hear him, and this is the way he closed his sermon. In his vivid, dashing, tragical way he represented two persons dying and seeking an entrance into heaven. "First comes a moral man. The angel that guards the entrance gate to the Golden City hears a knock without. 'Who is there?' The comer announces his name. 'Are you from the earth?' 'Yes.' 'What claim have you for entrance here?' The one who stands without the gate replies: 'I have always tried to do as well as I knew how. I have been honest in business, and just in my dealings with all men. And I have tried to do all the good I could. I have fed

the hungry, clothed the naked, cared for the sick, befriended the poor, and in every way in my power tried to make myself useful and helpful to my fellow beings round about me.' 'And is that the ground of your hope to find entrance here?' 'Yes.' 'Angels, seize him, and away with him into the outer darkness, where there is weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth. There is no place for such as he here.' Another knock is heard at the gate. This time it is the soul of a man who died steeped to the neck in guilt and sin. Again the keeper calls out, to know on what ground he expects entrance. 'Alas!' he replies, 'I cannot plead any virtue of my own, or any good that I have done to others; for my whole life has been spent in crime and wickedness. But I plead the merits of the blood of Christ. I trust to that blood to save me.' Open at once flew the heavenly gates, and a voice from the great white throne called out, 'Come in! Come in! Heaven is for such as you.'"

Does any one shudder to think of such a burlesque of common sense, not to say burlesque of religion, being preached in a Christian pulpit? But that is exactly the kind of salvation that Mr. Talmage has been preaching in that Brooklyn Tabernacle ever since he began his work there. Times without number, almost, and by every imaginable device and illustration has he sought to impress it upon the throngs that have flocked to hear him that they were to be saved, not by their virtue, not by their goodness, not by their good deeds, but by that theological something which he shrieks and yells into the ears of sinners as their only hope, viz., "faith in the atoning sacrifice," "plunging into Calvary's fountain," "being washed in the precious blood of the Crucified"—whatever all that means.

Do you say that Mr. Talmage is not alone in this kind of teaching? Alas! Alas! I know he is not, and that is the saddest thing about it. He only preaches with a little more vim and vividness than others, what thousands of others are preaching—and what all preachers of all evangelical denominations in the country would be preaching if they lived up to their creeds and theological standards. Dressed in the startling rhetoric of Mr. Talmage the doctrine that a man's character and virtue have nothing to do with securing his salvation, seems a little more outrageous than when dressed in tamer rhetoric; but it is all at heart, nevertheless, the same doctrine. Nor are there wanting other preachers besides Mr. Talmage who put this doctrine in pretty clear form. A sermon has recently come to me, preached by Rev. Mr. Bayliss, a leading M. E. minister of Indianapolis, Ind., on the occasion of the execution of the late wife murderer, Merrick, who, it seems, was a member

of Trinity M. E. (Mr. Bayliss') church. The sermon contains utterances quite worthy of Talmage. I make a single quotation: "The moralist and the murderer, if both reject Christ, both go to hell together. 'He that believeth not shall be damned.' He may be truthful in conversation, but if he believeth not he shall be damned. Honest in business, but if he believeth not he shall be damned. May give money to the poor, and even to the church of Christ (as if to give money to the church were a more praiseworthy thing than to give to the poor) but if he believeth not he shall be damned. He may have large ambitions, and frame broad plans; he may be a philanthropist, and give time and money for the good of mankind, but still, if he believe not he shall be damned. He may live so as to demand a monument; men may build it; but, if he believe not he shall be damned."

Is it any wonder that a preacher who teaches such shocking doctrines under the name of religion should have a wife-murderer in his church? A correspondent of the *Boston Index*, writing from Indianapolis, says: "The proofs of Merrick's guilt were overwhelming, and the facts brought to light during his trial showed the murder to be one of the most cold-hearted and flandish ever committed. This red-handed murderer protested his innocence to the last. He had lived with the belief that the blood of Christ would cleanse from all sin, even that of murder itself."

By the way, it is to be hoped that some of his congregation have informed Mr. Bayliss by this time that the text of scripture which he seems to roll as a sweet morsel under his tongue, and out of which he seems to get so much comfort—"He that believeth not shall be damned"—is not genuine scripture. It turns out not to be found in the original Greek of the New Testament. But, though it is not Bible it is excellent theology, all the same.

Several different friends told me of going to hear Dr. Tiffany, the leading M. E. minister of Chicago, preach one evening, a couple of winters ago, upon the subject of the Deity of Christ. Urging the importance of the doctrine and the supreme wickedness of not believing it, my friends said, he exclaimed, "Murder! Why, murder is nothing compared with the sin of denying that Christ is God."

Mr. Moody says in substance wherever he goes: "Whether a man is a good man or a bad man does not touch the question of his salvation. He is saved *if he is sheltered behind the blood*, and not otherwise."

Dr. Withrow, at one of the noon meetings in Boston, when Mr. Moody was there, commended to his hearers the saying of an Irish boy, "God cannot see my sins through Jesus' blood."

Said Rev. Henry Varley, the eminent English revivalist, to a congregation of Sunday school teachers and officers in New York City: "The very worst thing you can do is to teach the children in your classes and schools that they should try to be good. Don't teach them to be good. Teach them to accept Christ. That is the all important thing. Teaching them to be good will only draw their attention away from that."

A Boston evangelical house has published a book edited, approvingly, by Spurgeon, containing these words: "He that believeth shall be saved, let his sins be ever so many; he that believeth not shall be damned, let his sins be ever so few."

Even Mr. Beecher has so much of the darkness of the middle ages still hanging about him that one of his published discourses, preached to a large congregation contains this horrible passage: "This is our danger: Not that we shall be sinful, not that we shall be imperfect, not that we shall be vain, not that we shall be foolish, not that we shall be corrupt in our imaginations, but that we shall not believe in Christ. Our salvation is not half so much imperiled by wickedness as by unbelief." What a foundation does such teaching as that lay for public and private morality! Is it any wonder that there are Brooklyn scandals?

Or, if we seek something quite as bad in its doctrine, and a good deal more after Talmage's coarse style of putting things, here it is in the form of a recent blast from the trumpet of Bishop Haven:

"Never was New England more closely knit about the cross and the sacrifice than to-day. Never was a bloodless atonement more, powerless. Never did the cry, 'Tis the blood that saves,' bring more soldiers or more enthusiasm to its standard. So when the doctrine of the resurrection of the body or of eternal hell-fire is tossed overboard by careless or willful renegades, when polished Farrar follows polished Channing in denying his father's Wesleyan faith, and popular and plausible Beecher rejects his father's house and words whenever Plymouth wavers, whose biggest word used to be, 'Sin dug hell and kindled its fires,' when Universalism lifts its head defiant from the burning marl, and Ingersoll rejoices that God the Christ is being thus driven from the field, lo! the defenders appear,—Townsend with his 'Lost Forever,' Moody with his plain and passionate preaching, exegetes and orators with the flexible-covered Bible in their hands and in everybody's hands,—and the Truth Divine rises over the black and burning sea, not to its abolishment, but to the proclamation about the abyss that the BLOOD SAVES FROM WRATH, BLOOD ALONE FROM WRATH ETERNAL."

This from a man who has the reputation of being one of the most progressive

and liberal of the leaders of the Methodist Church in this country!

Or, I may come nearer home still, and quote the utterance of the pastor of one of the leading churches in this city, made on the occasion of a public funeral, perhaps three months ago. The utterance, as taken down by me from the lips of a prominent member of the ministers own society, and testified to by several ladies and gentlemen to whom I have submitted it, who heard the utterance, is this: "It makes no difference how cultured, how attractive, how virtuous a woman may be, if she does not believe these doctrines that I preach (of the Calvinistic theology) she stands upon the same level with the abandoned woman."

Alas! Is it any wonder that such utterances as these from Christian pulpits should make many of the best and most thoughtful people of the land turn their backs upon religion and say, if this is the kind of teaching it has for men then we want nothing to do with it. We will not give our support or countenance to any institution which teaches that failure to believe certain theological notions is a more wicked thing than to steal and lie and murder, or that a pure and noble woman who can't believe in an eternal hell is no better in God's sight than a harlot, or that heaven opens wide its doors to corrupt and depraved wretches who say, "We plead the merits of Christ's blood," and closes its doors against pure and good men who stand erect in their own conscientious integrity, and make no such plea.

But I must not dwell longer on this point. We sometimes flatter ourselves that these dreadful doctrines—these morally outrageous doctrines have been laid aside.* But we could not possibly be

*At the Congregational Conference held in Ann Arbor in October last, the principal sermon preached was upon "The Plan of Salvation," which was represented by the preacher to be quite as substitutionary and bloody an affair as Mr. Moody represents it in his famous sermon on "The Blood." The prayer made by the Secretary of the Conference was nearly as sanguinary as the sermon; and the three hymns given out by the Secretary were full of the "blood atonement" idea in its most coarse, literal and disgusting form. The hymns were:

"There is a fountain filled with blood
Drawn from Emanuel's veins,
And sinners plunged beneath that flood
Lose all their guilty stains."

And

"Rock of ages, cleft for me,
Let me hide myself in thee!
Let the water and the blood,
From thy wounded side which flowed,
Be of sin the double cure—

And

"Just as I am without one plea,
But that thy blood was shed for me."

In the hymn books scattered through the pews of the church where the Conference was held (the Congregational Church) I found the doctrine of vicarious atonement by the blood of Christ taught in the blindest possible form, and with the greatest prominence throughout the entire book,

more mistaken. The leaders and highest ecclesiastical authorities of the orthodox churches generally were never so determined that they shall not be laid aside, as they are to-day. Probably no other preacher in the country speaks out the old theology with, on the whole, so clear and ringing—I should, perhaps, say brazen—a note as Talmage. But the great body of orthodoxy is, after all, essentially with him. The creeds and doctrinal standards generally are with him; the ecclesiastical machinery of all the denominations is essentially with him; the theological schools for the most part are with him; the great body of the denominational periodical press is with him; the bulk of the denominational literature of all the orthodox denominations is with him; the hymnology of the country is with him; the revivalists and revivals are with him; the prayers of a majority of the prayer meetings are with him; a far larger proportion of the pulpits of the land than we think are with him; and, more powerful in their influence than perhaps anything else, the Sunday schools of the land are in the essence of their teaching for the most part with him. I know whereof I affirm when I say this. A crucified God, Jesus-worship, an eternal hell, and salvation by the blood of vicarious atonement instead of salvation by character—these are the central doctrines preached with brazen tongue by Talmage, but so also and no less are they the central doctrines, preached, with silver tongue may be, but preached and taught to the children, by the orthodox pulpits and churches and Sunday schools of this whole land. If in any pulpit or Sunday school there is a tendency to lay aside these doctrines that pulpit or Sunday school is just in so far "unsound," "heretical," unorthodox, Unitarian. Such laying aside is contrary to the creeds and doctrinal standards, and unsanctioned by the highest ecclesiastical authorities of the various orthodox denominations. And if it is ever winked at, so much the worse. It has no right to be winked at; for if churches or men fly the flag of orthodoxy over their heads they should be orthodox. If they become Unitarian then they should be honest and run up the Unitarian flag.

People who try to make out that the Talmage doctrines are things of the past, look very superficially. They forget that Talmage lives to-day. They forget that Rev. Mr. Bayliss, and Mr. Moody, and Henry Varley, and Dr. Withrow, and Dr. Tiffany, and Spurgeon, and Beecher, and Bishop Haven, and the preacher of the Congregational Conference that met in Ann Arbor last fall, and the pastor of one of the churches of this city, whom I have referred to, *all live to-day*. They forget that most of these men are *representative men*. They

forget that the startling, must I not say the *shocking* utterances, which I have quoted from them, were for the most part made *within the past few months*. They forget that while the various denominations are every few months arraigning and trying some minister for supposed laxness of theological views, *they none of them ever arraign or try anybody for preaching such dreadful things as I have quoted*. They forget that when the Methodists bring a preacher before an ecclesiastical tribunal it is not a Mr. Bayliss, or a Dr. Tiffany or a Bishop Haven, or any other teacher of extreme orthodox doctrines, but a Dr. Thomas, whose view of the atonement, they think, does not have in it quite enough of the sacrificial idea; and when the Congregationalists refuse to ordain a man to the ministry it is not a Dr. Withrow, who teaches that God cannot see a sinner's guilt through the blood of Christ, but a Mr. Merriam, who doubts the eternity of hell; and when the Presbyterians try a man on account of the character of his religious teachings it is not a Dr. Hodge whom they try because he is too rigid in his Calvinism, but a Prof. Swing, because he is too liberal.

Mr. Talmage and the present trial of Mr. Talmage are signs of the times of the clearest significance as showing whether or not the old dreadful doctrines of orthodoxy have been given up by the orthodox churches of to-day. Though Mr. Talmage has preached these doctrines so long in all their shocking plainness—holding up the doctrines in all their nakedness and deformity—yet he has never been censured by his church or denomination for that. Rather for that he has been commended, and on account of his fidelity in that he has been favored and rewarded and honored—when but for that he must, as it would seem, long ago have fallen under ecclesiastical censure for his sensationalism, his buffoonery and his notable defects of moral character.

In closing I must say that for one I am glad for the plain speaking of Mr. Talmage on all subjects of doctrinal theology; as I am glad for the plain out-and-out speaking of Mr. Bayliss, Mr. Moody, Bishop Haven and the rest, on the same doctrinal subjects. I think as a final result of all such plain speaking a great deal of good will come. It will tend to clear the fog out of men's minds and help them to decide between the old and the new. The old theology, with its Calvinism and its "scheme of redemption," has almost nothing in common with the teachings of Jesus, almost nothing in common with the teachings of the greatest and best moral and

spiritual teachers of the world generally; almost nothing in common with the growing reason and science and light and sense of justice of our nineteenth century civilization; and the sooner we all come to see this the better it will be both for our civilization and our religion. Mr. Talmage, more than perhaps any other man, is helping us to see this. I think we may well be thankful, therefore, for his doctrinal utterances.

Of course we cannot be thankful for his cruel excitement of men's and especially women's emotions, until religion, from a thing of health and sanity and joy and peace becomes under his sensationalism transformed into a thing of intoxication, unrest and fever. Of course we cannot be thankful for his pulpit buffoonery which tends to destroy all reverence, and turn every thing high, sacred and earnest in religion into subject matter for comedy and jokes. But when we reach his shocking doctrines which he preaches seemingly with such pleasure, I think we get to where Mr. Talmage begins to do substantial good. Since such doctrines exist, and hold so wide sway in the Christian world, and are taught in mild language all about us in Sunday schools, religious papers and pulpits, it is best that they should be stated in plain words, and be held up in the light, by a man like Talmage, who will let people see just how ugly they are. It is regarded as a wise legislative maxim, that the best way to get a bad law repealed is to strictly enforce it. So the best way to get irrational and debasing religious doctrines done away with is probably to have them taught and preached out in plain language so that all may know exactly what they mean. Compel the Presbyterian church to put a copy of the Westminster Confession in the hand of every member of its congregations, and it would soon reform that Confession. Compel all the preachers of the country to preach in plain language the creeds and standards of the churches to which they minister, and we should soon see either many of the ministers making a hegira to the larger freedom of the Liberal ranks, or else the churches revising or throwing away their creeds.

So that, I say, I think we may well be thankful for the doctrinal preaching of Talmage, as something well calculated to make thoughtful Christian people ashamed of many doctrines still clung to under the name of Christianity, but which never came from Christ; and willing to put others in their place more just, more rational, more truly Christian.

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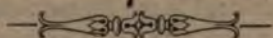
RALPH WALDO EMERSON:

HIS LIFE AND THOUGHT,

BY

REV. J. T. SUNDERLAND, M.A. (U.S.A.).

Published in Bombay, India.



THE MOST influential writer and thinker that America has yet produced is undoubtedly Ralph Waldo Emerson. Other writers are more popular. Longfellow is far more widely read. But Emerson is read by the intellectual and thoughtful classes—by those who influence the opinions and life of the people—far more than is any other author of the New World, past or present.

Emerson's influence is great in literature. It is still greater in morals and religion. His moral power lies in his moral insight. I think no other writer of this century has seen with such clearness, and set forth with such graphic pen, the great truth that all things in the Universe rest on a moral foundation—that through the Universe runs a moral order.

Emerson's religious power lies in his religious insight. His spiritual vision pierces down to the deep heart of reality. Most religious teachers get tangled in externalities, and superficialities, and temporalities—that is, in ecclesiasticisms, parties, forms of expression of truth, creeds, symbols, attachment to particular prophets. Hence their teaching is local, temporal, moving on the surface of religion. In Emerson we have a teacher whose interest is in the universal, the spiritual, the eternal; and, hence, whose word has not merely ruffled the surface of the religious thinking of his time, but penetrated that thinking, like light—gone down to the roots of it, like rain—strangely stirred it at the very fountains of its deepest life.

More than almost any man's of the modern world his has been a fresh voice from God! Yes, we need not hesitate to say it from God—speaking a living word of inspiration to men in our time.

And our time is praising him. Of course not the creedists—not the doctrinaires—not those interested in forms of truth more than in truth. No new word of God can come to such men now, as no word of fresh inspiration could come to the same class of men in Jesus' day. But the lowly listeners, the lovers of truth, the believers in a Living God whose inspiration is an ever-flowing fountain for every age to drink—such are hearing the deep and quiet, but the thrilling and the life-giving word of Emerson. Such recognise in him a prophet of the highest, speaking with authority—the eternal authority of truth, and insight, and love.

It is because I believe Emerson to be such an intellectual leader and quickener of his time, but especially such a moral force, such a seer, such a prophet of the soul, such a positive and creative spiritual influence, and, therefore, such a harbinger of the new and brighter day which must sooner or later come to religion, that I invite attention to his life and his thought.

That we may understand the man and his message, let us first glance at his life and character; then at his literary work; and then consider with most fulness the quality and significance of his moral and religious teaching.

Emerson was born in 1803, and died in 1882. The best blood of New England ran in his veins. He was educated in the Boston Schools and at Harvard College. Then he studied divinity for a time with Dr. Channing, and settled as pastor of the Second Church (Unitarian) in Boston. In this position he remained only four years; by the end of that time having become convinced that his life-work was not to be that of a settled minister of a single church, but rather that of a writer and public lecturer. He wished still to devote his life to moral and religious teaching, but he believed he could do so best through his pen and on the public lecture-platform.

Accordingly, he went out to the little village of Concord, a quiet place, twenty miles or so from Boston, in the midst of sweet New England country scenery, and there made for himself a home, which he occupied for the rest of his life. For many years he continued to preach much, in the various towns and villages in the vicinity of his home, but he never accepted a stated charge; and more and more his writing and lecturing came to absorb his time and strength.

The reason he chose Concord as a place of residence seems to have been partly that this had been the home of some of his ancestors, and partly that it was a lovely and quiet spot, near enough to the metropolis to afford him easy access to the city's activities and privileges, and yet far enough away to give him the retirement and peace of the country.

Writing of his settlement here, he says: "I am by nature a poet, and, therefore, must live in the country." And how truly nature was his companion through all the well-nigh forty-five years of his residence amidst her fields and woods, her brooks and flowers and quiet paths, every reader of his books well knows.

Nature is to every human soul what that soul makes her to be. To the soul that can perceive it, she is an infinite wonder, a teacher whose lessons are new every

morning and fresh every evening, a never-failing fountain of joy and inspiration. She was all this to Emerson, else he could never have given to the world such a wealth of poetry and wisdom drawn from nature's heart.

His love of nature was always very ardent. Some said it ate up his love of men. But such cannot know Emerson well. His friendships were always warm and hearty; his interest in his neighbours, even the poorest, was striking and beautiful. He used often to chat with the farmers at their work; he had personal acquaintance and friendship with the humblest day-labourers; he loved and was loved by the school children; he was a general favourite in the village. Everything that pertained to the welfare of the community he was interested in. Nor did his love of men stop with his personal friends, and neighbours, and the town where he resided. It reached out far—to all humanity, and especially to all who suffered or were wronged. Few genuine reforms of the fifty years preceding his death, from the anti-slavery cause to the movement to enlarge the sphere of woman, failed of his support. Never a politician, but always a patriot, he kept through all his years a warm and unflagging interest in the welfare of his native state and his native land. Few men of his generation spoke wiser, more sincere, or more weighty words upon any of the great subjects that most deeply concerned the moral, religious, social, political, or even industrial life of his country and age.

To few spots in America, or in any other land, came so many noble spirits as to that simple Concord home. The wisest and best men and women of America were Emerson's friends, and loved to sit down at his fire-side. Distinguished visitors from the old world eagerly sought him in his retreat. Few homes were so charming. But it was simplicity itself, as the man was all simplicity. Indeed, its simplicity and genuineness were its charm. Pretensions could not live within its walls. Truth and sincerity, sympathy and love, were the guardian spirits that habitually dwelt there. No wonder, therefore, that men and women, alike the humble and the great, loved to enter.

It is hard to say whether Emerson is greatest as a poet or as a prose writer. Indeed, it is not always quite easy to tell just which of his writings are poetry and which are prose. In his verse, not unfrequently, his rhymes are faulty and his metres limp. But whether he writes in verse or prose, his thought is always that of the poet. It is pictured thought. It is thought transformed by a powerful imagination into forms of life.

In England and on the Continent of Europe, Emerson seems generally to be ranked as the greatest of America's prose writers, and as occupying a place at least among the greatest of her poets. This is the general verdict also in his own land. His poetry ranges from the simplest—as simple as anything in Longfellow or Burns—to the most profound—as profound as anything in Wordsworth, or Goethe, or Browning.

Turning to Emerson's prose writings, it may be noted that his Phi Beta Kappa Oration on "The American Scholar" has often been pointed to, and, perhaps, with good reason, as marking an era in American letters. Its effect at the time of its delivery was certainly great. It is hard to point to any other single utterance the

influence of which has been so stimulating, so awakening, so creative. I should strongly advise any one who has not read Emerson, but who proposes to do so, to begin with this production.

Emerson has been called the American Carlyle, the American Coleridge, the American Wordsworth, the American Bacon, the American Goethe, the American Plato, according as men have looked at different aspects of his thought and literary work. He may well remind one of many men, yet is he as thoroughly himself, a unique and individual, both in his thought and in the expression of his thought, as any modern writer. If originality may be said to belong to any author of our time, Emerson is original.

Emerson, like most other great thinkers, drew attention to himself only slowly, and was long in reaching any great degree of what we may call popularity. To one who wrote inviting him to the distant Western city of Cincinnati to deliver a lecture, he replied: "Why, my dear sir, you have not a hall in Cincinnati small enough to hold my audience!" His first book, "Nature," was twelve years in reaching—a sale of five hundred copies! To-day the works of few writers, outside the realm of fiction, have so large or so steadily increasing a sale, and not only in America, but in England, and wherever the English language is spoken. Nor is even this all. They have been translated into nearly all the more important European tongues, and they are quietly creeping into the languages of Asia, and wherever they go they are attracting the attention of the wise and the thoughtful. Of no American writer is it so true, that he "comes to his own," and "his own sheep hear his voice." But the minds that receive him are the best minds. He teaches the teachers; he preaches to the preachers; he writes poetry for the poets; he thinks for the thinkers: and this in every land where his works are read.

Is it possible, in a few words, to paint the leading characteristics of his writings? As already intimated, he is above all else a seer. His conception of truth is the poetical conception. Hence, his expression is enunciation, not argument. He cares little for logic. His effort is not to prove, but to show. It follows that his writings are never controversial. They are remarkable for their affirmations. True, he can deny if there is need for it. His books contain many a vigorous negation. But the thing he loves is to affirm—to affirm without reference to any one else's opinion. He never answers his critics or reviewers.

There is a mystic vein in Emerson. In his earlier years men called him a transcendentalist. He changed perceptibly in his later life, leaving much of his transcendentalism behind. Yet he always retained a trace of the mystic. Perhaps, without this he could not have been a poet. But all was admirably balanced and held in poise by a large element of keen, clear, practical wisdom that runs through his writings. If he has wings and soars, he also has feet and stands firm upon the solid earth. If he is a mystic, or a transcendentalist, he is at the same time a practical "Yankee," with a large development of that saving element which men call common-sense. If he loves poetical insights, so, too, he dearly loves facts. One has said of him—"He hugs his fact." One of the causes of his seeming illogicalness is his abundance of detail. He fairly revels in allusions,

side-glances, illustrations drawn from every imaginable source, remote or near, erudite, homely, beautiful, quaint, always telling, always flashing unexpected light upon the subject in hand.

In all his thinking and writing Emerson is independent, out-spoken, the bravest of the brave,—yet with no bluster. With all his boldness, he is sincere and modest, tender and reverent. He has in him at once the soul of a warrior and the soul of a woman.

Both his prose and his poetry are wonderfully full of sententious lines, short, apt, pregnant sentences, which fasten in men's minds and are rapidly becoming current coin of quotation. No other American writer, perhaps, no other writer in the English language, with the single exception of Shakespeare, is quoted so much. If Emerson's mind is less many-sided than Shakespeare's, his spiritual insight, his grasp on great moral principles, and his power to condense his thought so as to pack a volume into a dozen striking words, is beyond that of Shakespeare—I believe it is beyond that of any other writer, living or dead. To make quotations from his writings illustrating this, is a very easy task. One has scarcely more to do than to open any one of his volumes, prose or verse, at any random page, and read. Here is a little handful of pearls and diamonds, such as lie scattered all through his rich pages. I give them merely as specimens, choosing such as are most familiar and mainly from his poems :—

"If eyes were made for seeing,
Then beauty is its own excuse for being."

"The conscious stone to beauty grew."

"He that feeds men serveth few ;
He serves all who dares be true."

"To the poet, to the philosopher, to the saint, all things are sacred, all events profitable, all days holy, all men divine."

"So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
So near is God to man,
When duty whispers low, 'Thou must,'
The youth replies, 'I can.'"

"The highest compact we can make with our fellow is, 'Let there be truth between us two for evermore.'"

"Go, put your creed into your deed,
Nor speak with double tongue."

"For he that worketh high and wise,
Nor pauses in his plan,
Will take the stars out of the skies
Ere freedom out of man."

RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

"Men of character are the conscience of the society to which they belong."

"What is excellent,
As God lives, is permanent."

Where shall we stop? As well ask where to stop when we begin counting the stars of the night-sky, or gathering flowers from the endless meadows of May!

I now come to Emerson in his supreme capacity, namely, that of a teacher of ethics and religion. No man of our age is more essentially an ethical teacher—none more truly a teacher of religion.

But, in order that this may appear, we must understand what is meant by religion and ethics. Emerson teaches no system of ethics: he teaches no formulated theology. His ethics is the ethics of the Golden Rule; of the normal, happy, right life; of natural, needful, and, therefore, beneficent retributions, here and hereafter. It is the ethics of the soul, of the conscience, of moral intuition.

In the same way his religion is a thing of life and not of forms or creeds. If he can enunciate a moral principle, or a religious truth, so as to make men feel its power, so as to cause it to commend itself to men's minds, and consciences, and spiritual nature, then he counts his task well done. But if persons do not instinctively recognise a religious utterance the moment it comes to them, he holds that all arguing about it, or trying to prove its validity, is time thrown away. Hence, his search, not for arguments, but for deeper and more penetrating and fresher thoughts, and imagery, and new and living forms of expression.

Emerson's religion is *Natural* religion.

"Out of the heart of Nature rolled,
The burdens of the Bible old,"

he sings. True religion is not un-nature, or anti-nature, or even super-nature, but *Nature*—just the deepest, holiest, divinest outcome of Nature. It is natural, not unnatural, for man to hope; it is natural for him to love; it is natural for him to worship; it is natural to believe in a power, a wisdom, a justice, and a goodness, above him and at the heart of all things, and to desire to be in harmony with the same. The reason why any intelligent and thoughtful man finds it hard to believe in religion is because it is presented to him in distorted or inadequate forms. "There shall, some time, be made a statement of religion," he declares, "which will render all scepticism absurd." The religious instinct is as natural as anything else in man, and what is wanted is not to change man's nature, or to destroy it, but to guide, and train, and perfect it. Just in so far as the great religions of mankind conform to Natural religion they are true and eternal. Just in so far as they depart from Natural religion and are based upon the artificialities of *ipse dixit*s, or external authorities, or miracles, of supposed special revelations, they are transient. Jesus was a religious teacher for all time, because he taught Natural religion.

From all this it follows that Emerson's religion is *Universal* religion. He cannot believe in a partial God—one who can choose out a single nation of the earth for

his favour and his salvation, and leave all the rest in darkness and death. He cannot believe revelation to be confined to one book. Rather is it too large a thing for all books that ever have been or ever will be written.

Inspiration is not confined to thirty ancient Hebrews, more or less. 'It is the very breath of life of all souls on the earth. As Christians we love our own Bible. Let us sacredly cherish all its noble teachings, all its holy associations. But other peoples of the world have their Bibles too. And if we say that God speaks through our Bible, let us not be bigots and deny the like claim made by other races, that God speaks also through the Bibles which he has given them. Let us not think that Christian saints and Jewish saints exhaust all the sainthood of the world. If we put the shoes from off our feet in the presence of Moses and Jesus, let us uncover our heads in the presence of Confucius and Buddha, and many another great teacher, remembering that God hath not left Himself without witness in any land or among any people.

Emerson was a profound believer in science. He followed its wonderful discoveries with deepest interest. He saw in it a new, and marvellous, and many-sided, and ever-growing revelation of God. But, of course, he saw it all with the eyes of the seer, the thinker, the poet, and he interpreted its teachings and deductions in the light of his own idealism. He would have science a living not a dead thing. He would have it vivified and glorified by creative insight, by imagination, by poetry, by religion. While he honoured scientists above most men, yet for those scientists who begin with matter and end with matter, who investigate matter and contend that that is all there is, he had little respect. To scientists he said—"Bring on your facts: the more the better. I bow reverently before every one. But I beg of you, gentlemen, do not study one-half of the universe alone, and that the lower and poorer half. Bring me facts and deductions about souls as well as about bodies, about spirit as well as matter. Is not a man more important than a fossil, and the mighty mind of man that can weigh and measure the stars than a bug?"

To Emerson nature, life, science, law, everything is ethical. "Heaven kindly gave our blood a moral flow." "Things are saturated," he writes, "with the moral law. There is no escape from it. Violets and grass preach it; every change, every course in nature; is nothing but a disguised missionary."

Because nature culminates in the ethical, therefore it culminates in man. Emerson's sense of the dignity of humanity is scarcely less than that of Channing. To Emerson man is not something apart from nature, but the best expression of nature's deep meaning—the crowning product of nature's divine life. Ever nature struggles upward—the lower toward the higher, the higher toward the highest; and in man the highest is reached. In one of his poems Emerson represents nature as saying—

"I travel in pain for him [man].
Let war and trade, and creeds and song,
Blend, ripen race on race,
The sunburnt world a man shall breed
Of all the zones and countless days."

No writer holds higher ideas of what it is to be a man than Emerson. No one exposes more unflinchingly than he, the counterfeits which pass current for manhood. Robert Burns' lines—

"Gie foos their gowd
And a' that,
The rank is but the guinea's stamp,
The man's the gowd
For a' that "

are quite matched by Emerson's couplet—

"A ruddy drop of manly blood
The surging seas outweigh."

According to Emerson, there can be no final disaster to man. "Man is born to a priceless heritage that no three-score-and-ten years of failure here may rob him of. There may be aberration, as of a star, but the soul will come again into its constant orbit."

Ever is Emerson on the alert against that besetting sin of all the ages—the sinking of religion in mere theological beliefs and outward observances. "Anything," he says, "but losing hold of the moral intuitions, as betrayed in the clinging to the form of devotion, or a theological dogma; as if it were the liturgy or the chapel that was sacred, and not justice and humility, and the loving heart and serving hand." Ever does he plead for reality in religion—life, not semblance of life. Just as a thousand echoes of a voice do not make a voice, and just as ten thousand shadows of an object do not make an object, so all the paraphernalia of religion in the world have no power to give us a particle of real religion. He is a remorseless stabber of theological conceit and ecclesiastical pretence. How he impales upon dagger-pointed words all vicarious redemptions, and schemes of make-believe salvations, whereby men who have no desert are by sham-shows of pretended justice gotten into heaven, while men of real desert are sent to hell on theological technicalities unworthy of a police court! A large part of what currently passes to-day for Christianity he will have nothing to do with. He believes it to be falsehood, superstition, a dark veil to shut out light, a chain to bind minds which were made for freedom. He does not believe this to be the Christianity of Christ. In the teachings of the great Prophet of Nazareth he sees ethical and spiritual truth at its purest and best—something, therefore, of priceless value, something which gave a great moral and religious uplift to the world. The religion of Jesus he gladly accepts; the theology of Christianity he, for the most part, rejects.

Emerson has no sympathy with the cry so popular in many quarters that we live in an infidel age. He believes that there was never before so much faith, and never so much faithfulness, in the world, as now. Faith in truth, faith in justice, faith in reality, are faith in God. Real faith dares to question. That is only blind credulity which accepts without inquiry. Tennyson's couplet—

"There lives more faith in honest doubt,
Believe me, than in half the creeds,"

might well be Emerson's, so truly does it express his thought. For a man in a creed-ridden, priest-ridden time to be denounced as sceptical signifies nothing. As Emerson more than once points out, in all nations and ages prophets and teachers of religion in advance of their time have been cast out as sceptics, blasphemers, atheists. This is because the ignorant and the superstitious so easily mistake theological dogmas and ecclesiastical forms for religion—the shadow for the substance. Emerson sees in much of the so-called infidelity of society to-day an honest, earnest, and essentially devout effort to find reality—to pierce down through the conventional in search for the eternally true.

Emerson has done much to make atheism impossible by helping our age to a more reasonable and satisfactory view of God. To minds influenced by science the idea of an absentee God, a "magnified and non-natural man," sitting on his throne in a far away heaven, creating the world in six days by his arbitrary fiat, and ruling it as an earthly monarch might rule an empire from a distant capital, is no longer credible. Emerson has seen its incredibility, and has done an invaluable service to his age by presenting to men a conception of God incomparably more rational and infinitely more spiritual, which at once harmonizes with science and enriches religion. To Emerson the throne of God is not in some local far-off world, but here, everywhere, in every flower that blooms, in every ray of light that streams through space, especially in every thought and aspiration and heart-throb of man. As St. Paul says, "In Him we live, and move, and have our being." He is the Power and Center of all the on goings of the universe, the Intelligence that guides all, the Justice that works out its great ends in human history, the Eternal Love that blossoms forth in all our human affection.

"Ever fresh the broad creation—
 A divine improvisation,
 From the heart of God proceeds,
 A single will, a million deeds.
 Once slept the world, an egg of stone,
 And pulse and sound and light was none;
 And God said, throb, and there was motion,
 And the vast mass became vast ocean.
 Onward and on, the Eternal Pan,
 Who layeth the world's incessant plan,
 Halteth never in one shape,
 But forever doth escape,
 Like wave or flame, into new forms
 Of gem and air, of plants and worms.
 The world is the ring of His spells,
 The play of His miracles.
 This vault, which glows immense with light,
 Is the inn where He lodges for a night.
 He is the axis of the star;
 He is the sparkle of the spar;

He is the heart of every creature,
 He is the meaning of each feature,
 And His mind is the sky,
 Than all it holds more deep, more high."

All this is only another way of saying that God is the soul and life of all things. His presence binds the worlds together. The universe is one, because He is One. Nature is the flowing robe in which He clothes himself. Stars shine with His light. Roses are beautiful with His beauty. Our dear ones love us with a love which they did not create, but which must have come from a Divine Source higher than themselves. Thus is God not far removed from us, but central in our lives, the Fountain of our day, the Light of all our seeing—nearer to us, if possible, than we are to ourselves. Such a thought of God as this, an intelligent age can no more reject than it can reject gravitation, or its own rationality.

What is Emerson's view of miracles? The question is really answered by what has been said of his conception of God. With God central in all the on-goings of nature, where is there room for miracle? If the sun moves through the heavens by the power of God, what need is there for that luminary to "stand still" in order to prove his presence! That would rather prove his absence. In the case of an absentee God, ruling the world by arbitrary fiat, there might be room for miracles, but not in the case of a God present everywhere, and ruling by law. To Emerson miracles are infinitely petty things, he is indifferent to them; may be he despises them, because they belittle God and religion. Shall the Infinite Power, who created all the fig trees in the world, curse one of the number to prove that he is God? Men adduce miracles as proofs of religion. But where is the proof of the miracles? It is a thousand times easier to prove the validity of religion than of these tales of the miraculous that come to us out of the dim past. Religion is something which stands firm on its own basis of human nature and needs no artificial support. When you undertake to prop it up by miracles, you do the same kind of thing as when you attempt to make the earth firm by placing an imaginary elephant beneath it. Your elephant does not help matters. The earth rests more secure in the mighty unseen hand of that Power which science calls Gravitation, but which religion calls by the greater name of God, than it could rest upon ten thousand elephants.

To Emerson miracles furnish no credentials to religious teachers. "If you are childish," he says, "and exhibit your saint as a worker of wonders, a thaumaturgist, I am repelled. That claim takes his teaching out of nature, and permits official and arbitrary senses to be grafted on the teachings. It is to the praise of our New Testament that its teachings go to the honour and benefit of humanity; that no better lesson has been taught or incarnated. Let it stand, beautiful and wholesome, with whatever is most like it in the teachings and practice of men; but do not attempt to elevate it out of humanity by saying 'this is not a man'—for, then you confound it with the fables of every popular religion; and my distrust of the story makes me distrust the doctrine as soon as it differs from my own belief. Whoever thinks a story gains by the prodigious, by adding something out of nature, robs it more than he adds. It is

no longer an example, a model; no longer a heart-stirring hero, but an exhibition, a wonder, an anomaly, removed out of the range of influence with thoughtful men."

Emerson would not throw away the institutions of religion, as some religious radicals do. He would not even be indifferent to such institutions. He saw clearly their limitations and defects. But he also saw clearly their necessity and value. What he would do, therefore, was to improve them; he would remove their limitations; he would make them broader, more human, more practical; he would adapt them to changing times and to the growing needs of men. "We are all sensible of the feeling," he writes, "that the Churches [as they at present exist] are outgrown; that the creeds are outgrown; that the technical theology no longer suits us. * * * The Church is not large enough for man; it cannot inspire the enthusiasm which is the parent of everything good in history, which makes the romance of history. For that enthusiasm you must have something greater than yourselves, not less." "There will be a new Church, founded on moral science, at first cold and naked, a babe in a manger again, * * * the Church of men to come, without *shawm* or *sackbut*, or psaltery; but it will have heaven and earth for its beams and rafters; science for symbol and illustration; and it will fast enough gather beauty, music, picture, poetry."

In the Christian Sunday, Emerson recognised a priceless blessing. He had no sympathy with the Puritan idea of the day, which would banish all light and beauty and joy from it, and devote it to the solemnities of an artificial and cruel religion. His conception of it was rather that of Jesus. "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath." He would make it not only pre-eminently the worship-day of the week, but also pre-eminently the light day, the love day, the joy day. He would open wide the doors of all churches and religious institutions on that day, but he would also open wide the doors and gates of museums, libraries, concert halls, galleries of art, public parks and gardens, where nature, and art, and beauty, and literature, and music may minister to the higher wants of man. Such a Sunday he saw would have simply an infinite value, and to all classes, rich and poor. "Sunday is the core of our civilization," he declares, "dedicated to thought and reverence. It invites to the noblest solitude and to the noblest society."

Indeed, all that was true and good in Church, in Sunday, in worship, in all the institutions of religion, Emerson would conserve. Severely as charges of religious vandalism have been urged against him, he was infinitely removed from anything of the kind. He would destroy only that connected with religion, which is outgrown, superstitious, degrading to the character of God, or injurious to men. While he would cast out the dross, the gold he would guard with a miser's care.

Some have said that Emerson would minimize, and limit, and impoverish religion. On the contrary, his effort ever was to magnify it, enrich it, make it great. His plea was for more religion, not for less; for a deeper religion, not for a shallower; for a religion not confined to Sunday, and the Church, and acts calling themselves religious, but a religion including and pervading all life. If he would have men pray and read

the Bible in the religious spirit, he would also have them plow, and build rail-roads, and calculate eclipses, and sing lullabys to babes, and make laws for nations, and buy and sell, in the religious spirit—that is, in the spirit of gentleness and justice, of fidelity, truth and love.

Oh, how the world needs such a religion as this! How such a religion would transform human society, and build on the earth a heaven more beautiful than seer or prophet ever saw in ecstatic vision! Such a religion Emerson preached by tongue and pen, all his days. Best of all, such a religion be *lived*.

Emerson's life was a long one. Seventy-nine summers smiled on him, seventy-nine winters frowned! But it was one long summer of light, and love, and peace in his heart. The years could make his body old, but not his soul. He always lived simply and naturally; he did not hasten; he took time as he went along, to think, to feel, to love, to worship, to watch all the silent processes of nature and learn her infinite patience and her joy. Friends were dear; his home was full of love and sincerity; his heart was always open to children; he stood forever facing the sunrise.

He widened the intellectual horizon of his time, but especially he helped men to a firmer hold upon moral principles, and a deeper insight into spiritual laws. He wrought for toleration, for charity, for human brotherhood, for philanthropies and reforms of many kinds, for a religion of love, for all genuine and sincere heart pieties. Reason in religion never had a braver champion. The Christianity of the Golden Rule and the Beatitudes never, since its author fell asleep, has found a nobler teacher, whether by word or by life. His character was spotless; his personality was powerful; his writings are classics in the English tongue; his influence as an apostle of "sweetness and light" is exceeded by that of no man of his century. The most cosmopolitan son of the New World, his thought and work were not for America alone, but for all lands, and, I believe, for all times.

"Every exaggeration of person and text is a violation of the soul's right, and inclines the manly reader to lay down the New Testament, to take up the Pagan philosophers. It is not that the Upanishads or the Maxims of Antoninus are better, but that they do not invade his freedom; because they are only suggestions, whilst the other adds the inadmissible claim of positive authority—of an external command, where command cannot be. This charm in the Pagan moralists, of suggestion, the charm of poetry, of mere truth (easily disengaged from their historical accidents which nobody wishes to force upon us), the New Testament loses by its connection with a church. Mankind cannot long suffer this loss, and the office of this age is to put all these writings on the eternal footing of equality of origin in the instincts of the human mind. It is certain that each inspired master will gain instantly by the separation from the idolatry of ages."—*Character*.

NEED A TRAVELLER DRINK WINE?

BY

REV. J. T. SUNDERLAND

PRINTED BY

THE UNITARIAN TEMPERANCE SOCIETY
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tell you the wine is much more different than the water." And after a thorough trial of drinking wine instead of water he smashed his bottles in disgust, and then was able to keep well, as he had not been before. And the whole party found out, to their sorrow, that, whatever risk there might be in drinking the water, there was very much more risk in drinking the best wines or liquors that they could procure.

This, then, is what I learned from my experience and observation in the Orient: that in most places to which a traveller is likely to go he can drink the water with perfect security; that in doubtful places his best recourse will be to tea, coffee, or boiled water in some form; or, if the doubt is serious, then he had better rely upon bottled waters obtained at the apothecaries' or government supply stores; but that the most unsafe thing he can drink in any land will be wine or any kind of intoxicating liquor.

Does any one ask me why there is so widespread misunderstanding regarding this matter, and why so many travellers in those lands discard water, and use wine, beer, and other intoxicants? The reasons are not hard to discover. They are, first, ignorance; second, the natural willingness with which men who are fond of alcoholic drinks accept theories, without taking trouble to verify them, which justify the indulgence of their appetites; and, third, the ceaseless activity of the wine and liquor venders, who industriously circulate reports of the non-safety of the water to help their own traffic, and the hotel-keepers, who all have long wine lists, and rely upon their wine sales for their largest profits.

I became particularly convinced of the evil of liquor-drinking in India. The foe to the European in India, before which he is far more likely to go down than before the climate or any other enemy, is strong drink. This was told me by physicians and long-time Indian residents in all parts. The English in India used to believe that they must use alcoholic stimulants in order to endure the climate. So

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strong was this sentiment at one time that the military authorities prohibited the formation of temperance societies among the English soldiers. But all this is now changed. Long trial has shown that those English soldiers and officers who make no use of liquor are much less in hospital, endure fatigues and exposures much better, and are in every way less liable to disease than those who drink even very moderately, besides recovering from disease and wounds with more rapidity and certainty. Now, therefore, the military authorities encourage the formation of temperance societies; and there are to-day in India no fewer than twenty thousand English soldiers who are total abstainers.

An English medical officer of prominence connected with the army, whose acquaintance I formed in Bombay, who for thirty years had had the medical supervision of large districts in different parts of India, was particularly emphatic on this subject. Though he himself drank, because he had formed the habit in early life, and could not break himself of it, he nevertheless did not hesitate to say in the strongest terms that his long and wide experience all pointed one way, —it all went to show that Englishmen or other Europeans coming to India for a long stay or a short, for residence or for travel, were by far the safest to make no use of intoxicating drinks of any kind.

When once we get the evidence bearing on the subject, the truth seems to be that there is no land to which the ordinary traveller ever goes in which it is not easy to obtain water that is safer than wine or any liquor. The one thing to be avoided by the traveller, especially in Oriental and tropical lands, is intoxicants.



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Need a Traveller drink Wine?

There is a widespread impression that it is not safe to travel in Europe, and especially in Oriental lands, without discarding mainly or wholly the use of water for drinking purposes, and substituting in its place wine, beer, or some form of liquor. Is this impression well founded? The question is one of much importance to the travelling public.

Having recently returned from a year of somewhat extended travel, in which I have done some experimenting and a good deal of observing, with a view to finding out the truth in this matter, it may not be without service to some if I state briefly the results of my experience and observation.

My journeyings took me through Great Britain, Holland, France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Greece, Palestine, and parts of Syria, Egypt, and India. In most of these lands, especially the ones last named, I travelled extensively, devoting to Palestine, Egypt, and India nearly six months.

That the use of liquor does not help one to endure changes or extremes of climate, I already knew.

Greely, Nansen, and others have assured us that no one stands the cold of the polar regions so well as the total abstainer. Stanley, Livingstone, and other African explorers have informed us that men who make no use of intoxicants best endure the extreme heat of the tropics. We have overwhelming testimony to the effect that the habitual use of liquor, even in moderate quantities, robs the user of power to endure heat, cold, exposure, or changes of temperature and of atmospheric conditions.

But regarding another matter I was not sure. The traveller must drink. What shall he drink?



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no occasion to avoid the water of Germany, France, or Switzerland.

Going to Italy, I had more fear. But it was soon in a measure allayed. I found that every Italian city of importance had its water supply carefully guarded, and usually brought from some far-away, clear, bright lake, or mountain-born stream. Why, then, should I have apprehensions as to its safety?

In Greece the situation is essentially the same as in Italy. In Athens and the larger towns there seems to be no good ground for avoiding the water.

When I reached Egypt I found reasons for much increased caution, partly because there was some cholera in the land. Yet in most of the places to which the traveller is likely to go, even in Egypt, the water is good. The Nile, from which Egypt gets its water for all purposes, is one of the purest and most wholesome sources of water supply in the world. What danger there is comes from local pollution. Water taken from close to the shore of the Nile as it flows past a village or city may not be pure. And, of course, water taken from any of the canals is to be distrusted. So that one should be on his guard. On the long trip up the Nile by boat, however, one may feel absolutely at ease. During the two weeks that I was on the river, drawing our water supply as we did directly from the great stream, and generally far out from the shore, I felt confident that there was no danger, even in a cholera season. We were drinking water which was probably as pure as any to be found at home.

It was in Palestine that I found most difficulty, though even here the difficulty was less than I had been led to expect. There was need of constant care, but with care we were able to obtain good water in abundance nearly everywhere.

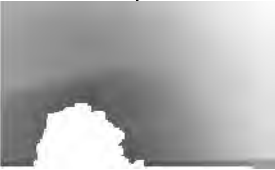
I had much apprehension regarding the water of India. But here, too, I found things far better than I expected.

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What was the result upon our health? Were we ill? Did we find ourselves with digestion impaired, from time to time, by bad water or by changes of water? Did we endure our journeys less well, or were we sick oftener than our fellow-travellers who discarded water and used alcoholic drinks? or who, when they did use water, mixed more or less of liquor with it to make it "safe," as they said? The answer is very easy to give. We went through all our travels without a day's serious illness on the part of any of us. I went through mine, including my three months in India, without the loss of a meal or any disturbance of digestion requiring even the slightest medicine. On the other hand, our travelling companions who made free use of liquors were almost constantly complaining, and in a number of cases were seriously ill.

During our trip on horseback through Palestine, where the strain was most severe, and our water supply the poorest, the three or four total abstainers in our party of nineteen got along far better than the others. Of those who took a little wine or whiskey or brandy each day or each meal to "keep them well" or to "make the water safe," nearly every one was attacked with a persistent, and in a number of cases a severe, bowel trouble. Of the abstainers, only one was troubled at all, and that one only very slightly.

Another Palestine party of which I learned had a similar experience to our own, only still more marked. Before starting on the "long route," from Jerusalem to Damascus, about three-quarters of the party allowed themselves to be persuaded to lay in a stock of wine for the journey. The rest determined to stick to their total abstinence principles. What was the result? The abstainers went through without difficulty, while every one of the wine-drinkers was sick on the way, and two or three of them broke down entirely and had to go back to Jerusalem. One of the party said: "They talk about the water being different in different places. I



Germany. To convert such a people to Christianity seems an undertaking worthy of the best powers of the most enterprising Christian nations.

A little reflection will suggest that planting missions among such a people is a very different thing from planting them among an inferior and only half-civilized race. When we carry our Christian religion to the South Sea Islanders, or to the tribes of Central Africa, we know it is only a question of time when they will accept what we offer them, because savagery and barbarism must always succumb to civilization. But in the case of India one form of civilization is carrying its religion to another, a very different matter.

The situation recalls the conditions of the first centuries of Christian history when the young and daring faith of the Nazarene prophet presented itself before the two highest civilizations of the ancient Western World, the Greek and the Roman, and asked acceptance. Such was its vitality and spiritual power then that it conquered both those civilizations. Has it equal spiritual power to-day? Can nineteenth century Christianity accomplish with the Hindu Aryan what first and second century Christianity achieved with the Greek and Roman Aryan? It must be confessed that here we have an unsolved problem.

Furthermore, Christianity in India has not only to deal with a civilized, intellectual and proud race, with a great past behind it, but also to confront powerful, venerable, and highly organized religions. Christianity has shown in the past that it can easily enough conquer crude polytheisms and forms of nature-worship; but can it conquer a strong, compact and well-knit monotheism like the religion of Islam in India, or a subtle, elaborate, philosophic and infinitely elusive yet infinitely resourceful faith like Hinduism? Here we have a situation to which the analogy of the conquest of Greece and Rome by early Christianity does not seem to apply. For the religions of Greece and Rome were polytheisms which were already falling to pieces before Christianity came. But the monotheism of Islam in India shows no sign of falling to pieces; and Hinduism, even if more or less disturbed at its points of immediate contact with Western science and Western thought, yet shows no sign of being shaken in its philosophy or its spiritual thought, much less in its hold upon the hearts and lives of the Hindu people, into the very blood and fibre of whose being it has been growing for three thousand years. The real question in India is, Can Christianity conquer old, compact, strongly organ-

ized religions like these? It is a serious question, and one pretty nearly new. A problem just like it has never been met and solved in the world, during the whole history of Christian missions, ancient or modern.

Doubtless the situation is somewhat affected, and possibly in a way which, on the whole, is favorable to Christianity, by the fact that India is politically under the dominion of a Christian power. Peoples are usually much influenced by their rulers. The language of the ruling class, and more or less of their customs, are likely to be adopted by the ruled. History shows many illustrations of this. Thus the fact that the rulers of India profess the Christian faith undoubtedly tends to recommend Christianity to many, — at least as an expediency. Yet with many it works the other way. India is a subject land. No people likes to be in subjection to a foreign yoke. While the English rule is probably more acceptable than any other foreign rule would be, it is still alien, and maintained by the sword. The Indian peoples are generally patriotic. They have an intense love for their own land and their own institutions. The Mohammedan thinks with ill-concealed bitterness of the time when he was the ruler of India. The Hindu looks back with pride to the freedom and the glory of his ancestors when they were in power. That the rule of England has brought with it certain benefits compensates only imperfectly for the loss of liberty. It is hard for an Indian patriot to look with favor upon the Christian religion when he remembers that it is Christian cannon and Christian bayonets that keep his country in subjection. Thus it is not quite a settled question whether the political occupancy of India by Great Britain is favorable or unfavorable to the propagation of Christianity among the Indian peoples.

Probably most of us are accustomed to think of Christian missions as new in India. But this is far from the fact. There are old Christian traditions or legends to the effect that St. Thomas the Apostle went to India, preached quite extensively in the south, on the Malabar and the Coromandel coasts, established churches, and finally suffered martyrdom at the Little Mount near Madras, where to-day a spring of water, said to have been miraculously produced by him, is shown, together with various marks of his feet, his knees and his hands in the rocks. Careful investigation, however, finds no basis for the belief that St. Thomas was ever in India. Another legend connects St. Bartholomew with the first establishment of Christianity in Hindustan; but for

this there seems to be no more historic foundation than for the other. All that can be said with any certainty is that there seems good reason for believing that by the end of the second century after Christ small Christian communities existed on the Malabar (southwest) coast of India, perhaps planted there by Christian merchants from Arabia or the Persian Gulf. From the fifth to the fifteenth centuries the form of Christianity known as Nestorianism spread quite widely over Western and Central Asia. The Christian movement in India seems to have taken the Nestorian form, and experienced varying fortunes. Its connection with Syria gave it the name of the Syrian Church, a name which it still retains.

Roman Catholicism made its appearance in India for the first time with the advent of the Portuguese, at the beginning of the sixteenth century. It chanced that the Portuguese landed in the very part of India where this Syrian Christian Church was located. At once their proselyting zeal began to manifest itself in a two-fold direction,—that of converting the heathen to Christianity, and that of converting the Syrian Christians to Roman Catholicism. The Syrian Christians did not wish to change their faith or their ecclesiastical relations, and stoutly withstood the proselyting efforts of the Latin Christians. A long and bitter struggle ensued. To aid the Roman Catholic cause, the Portuguese introduced the Inquisition, and carried it on with terrible severity. The ultimate result was a division of the Syrian Christian Church into two sections. One section accepted the supremacy of the Pope, and its members came to be known, and are known still, as Catholics of the Syrian Rite. These Syrian Catholics now number about 200,000. The other section maintained its independence, both doctrinally and ecclesiastically, and to-day constitutes a Christian communion unconnected with either Catholics or Protestants. It numbers about 300,000 members, who are known as Syrian Jacobites of the Malabar coast. Thus India seems never to have been without a Christian movement from a date as early as 200 A. D. to the present time.

The Roman Catholic Church thus began its career in India a little less than four centuries ago. Besides bringing into connection with itself a part of the old Syrian Church, it has maintained from the first a steady and active propaganda among believers in the native faiths. Its first famous missionary was Francis Xavier, a man whose fiery zeal accomplished all that it was possible for a human being to accomplish (1542-1552). Indeed no other

Catholic missionary, and perhaps no Protestant missionary, has made so strong an impression in India as Xavier. From the southwest and the south of India Catholic missions have been extended all over the land, until at the present time there are few cities of importance or any tracts of country of much extent that do not contain Roman Catholic priests, churches, schools and orphanages. The number of Roman Catholics now in India is about 1,500,000. It is painful to be compelled to say that the history of Indian Catholicism has been terribly stained by the Inquisition, which, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, made a record almost as bloody in Goa as in Spain.

Protestant Christianity was first planted in Indian soil in the year 1706, by two Lutheran missionaries, who came under the patronage of the King of Denmark, and settled in Travancore in the extreme south. They made very few converts, but with one important achievement their names will be forever associated. They made the first translation of the Bible into an Indian tongue. Next after the Lutherans came the Baptists, in 1793. Their first missionaries, Carey, Marshman and Ward, were men of extraordinary ability, energy and devotion. Locating at Serampore, near Calcutta, in the northeast, and setting themselves to the many-sided task of preaching, translating the Scriptures into the vernacular, establishing and carrying on schools, and creating a Christian literature for the people, they gave Protestant missionary work in India an impetus which it has never lost. The Baptists were followed by nearly every other important Protestant denomination of England, Germany and America. From the beginning of this century until now, Protestant Christendom has sent more missionaries and more money for the support of their work to India than to any other foreign land. At the present time there are thirty-six different missionary societies carrying on operations in India, besides ten or more private missionary agencies. The number of ordained Protestant missionaries, British, European and American, is, speaking roundly, 850; native ordained agents, 800; native lay preachers, 3,500; churches or congregations, 5,000; and Protestant Christians, 650,000.

The whole Christian population of India may be approximately summarized as follows:—

Syrian Jacobites	300,000
Native Roman Catholics (including the Catholics of the Syrian Rite)	1,500,000
Native Protestants	650,000 ¹

Total native Christian population 2,450,000

These figures seem large and very encouraging to missionary enterprise. They show us that the number of native Christians in India is as large as the whole population of Paris; twice as large as the population of Philadelphia; more by a million than the population of Wales; as large as the united population of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut and Rhode Island.

But the impression which our figures make becomes not quite the same as soon as we look at the whole population of India, and begin to inquire what per cent. the Christians form of that. Then we are brought face to face with the rather startling fact that, after Protestantism has been in India nearly two hundred years, Roman Catholicism nearly four hundred, and an Oriental form of Christianity seventeen hundred, we have a native Christian population of considerably less than one per cent. This helps us to get an idea of the magnitude of the task which Christianity has before it when it sets out to win India to the standard of the cross.

Let us inquire with a little care what kind of work the Christian missions in India are doing. Is it work for to-day, or work for to-morrow? Is it work on broad lines, or on narrow? Are leading minds being reached? Is the native thought of the country being sensibly affected? Are these six hundred and fifty thousand Protestant and these million and a half Catholic converts to Christianity found among the more intelligent and educated classes, or among the ignorant and least influential? Of course, the significance of what has already been accomplished in India, and the outlook for the future, depend largely upon the answers to these questions. Missionary work must everywhere be what the men and women who have it in charge make it, — broad if they are broad, narrow if they are narrow; intelligent if they are intelligent, unintelligent if they are unintelligent; on a high

¹ It must not be understood that there is this number of actual communicants or church members. Sir William Hunter gives the number of these in 1890 (*Our Indian Empire*, p. 318) as 215,759, which is considerably higher than the figures of most statisticians. It is customary to multiply the number of communicants by three or four, and thus obtain, approximately, the total number of native Protestant Christians.

moral and spiritual plane if their lives are lived on such a plane, but otherwise not; wide-reaching and permanent in results if they have the wisdom and strength to lay hold of instrumentalities that really mould the thought and life of the people, but otherwise superficial and transient. It is in making these inquiries that we find both the strength and the weakness of Indian missions.

No one who has adequate acquaintance with the missionaries doubts their earnestness, their zeal, their sincerity, their moral qualifications for their work. The privations which they undergo and the sacrifices which they are called upon to make are not so great as is often supposed, or as was the case in the early days of missions. When Carey and Judson went to India it required heroism of a high order to become a missionary. The government was hostile, travel was tedious and difficult; there were no railways or telegraphs, mails were uncertain, hardships were severe. Now things are greatly changed. The government is friendly; railways, telegraphs and the best of postal facilities are everywhere. I found the missionaries as a rule living in excellent houses, with fine grounds about their homes, and plenty of servants. They have enough to do, but not more than ministers in this country. The main privation they are called upon to suffer is that of absence from their native land and from relatives and home friends. But this is only what the English soldier, merchant and civilian in India have to undergo. This is not said in disparagement of the missionaries, but only as descriptive of the situation. With very rare exceptions, they are earnest, honest, devoted men and women, who sincerely desire to do good, who personally deserve the confidence of the people around them, and generally succeed in winning it.

The weakness of the missionaries is on the side of their theology, and their want of grasp of the real nature and the magnitude of the work they have to do. Missionaries, particularly in a land like India, ought always to be men of the largest intellectual furnishing, the fullest knowledge of religions outside of their own, and of the widest religious sympathies. But, as a fact, they are generally men of limited theological outlook and of restricted religious sympathies. The reason why is plain. It is because the churches at home are not willing to send broad men. As a rule the home churches are extremely careful to select for missionaries to all foreign fields their "soundest," and that means their least progressive, representatives. Whatever qualifications a candidate for missionary service may or may not possess, he

must at least be a "safe" man. If he is in the least suspected of having a flaw in his theology, he is disqualified. There are repeated instances of men who, being rejected as candidates for the foreign work, have been received into pulpits at home without any difficulty. Thus, as a rule, all the denominations send their narrower men into the missionary field. This is unfortunate in the extreme, and the more so because the work of a missionary, after he gets into his field, is so well adapted to keep a narrow man narrow. He is away from the great currents of the world's thought, shut up to his little work of trying to impress his dogmas upon such minds, generally ignorant minds, as he can get to listen to him. There is nothing to broaden him, and his thought treads round and round, year after year, in the same small circle. Thus he remains to the end of his career what he was at the beginning. This is a picture of the average missionary.

Of course there are exceptions. Here and there we find shining exceptions, — men of large mould and of progressive minds, who have views of considerable breadth when they begin their missionary work, and who, after they enter upon it, study sympathetically and in the spirit of truth-seekers the people and the religions that they come in contact with, and thus grow in breadth with the years. Such men throw themselves into educational work, social reforms, and movements of many kinds for the enlightenment and benefit of the people, and do a work the value of which cannot be overestimated. The need for such workers is great. The doors that open before them are many and wide, and they are appreciated by the people among whom they labor. Very likely a missionary of this kind does not make as many "converts," so-called, as some narrower men would do. But while the narrow men pursue a course which draws lines, stirs up hard feeling, antagonizes, and causes a certain number outwardly to accept Christianity and all the rest to hate it, this man pursues a course which spreads enlightenment everywhere, broadens and sweetens the spirit of the whole community, faces many in the direction of progress, makes the children and young people eager to go to school and the older people to find out truth, without proselyting wins respect for Christianity, and plants its central principles of love, duty and helpfulness in the minds of the people far and near. Such missionaries are found here and there. If only all could be such, — if only the churches at home were wise enough always to select for their missionaries

men interested to do this kind of a work, and then to sustain them in such work, we should soon see everywhere a radical change in the spirit with which missions would be met, not only in India, but in all non-Christian lands, and such a growth of Christianity in those lands as never yet has been witnessed. But such missionaries in foreign lands are very rare, as such a conception of missions is very rare among the churches at home. Not until we can get the better conception at home, can we expect the better realization abroad.

There are several causes which hinder the progress of Christianity in India. Some of the more important may be pointed out. One is the number of Christian sects and denominations. It is hard for the heathen to understand why it is, if we have the one true religion, specially revealed from heaven, that there are so many forms of it. Said Keshub Chunder Sen, speaking in London on this subject: "There are so many churches into which Christianity has been divided, there are so many different kinds of doctrines and ceremonies and rituals prescribed and followed by different religious denominations who call themselves Christians, that India is confounded and perplexed. . . . Each sect comes to the Indian inquirer and exhibits its own doctrines and dogmas. For the time being these doctrines and dogmas engage the attention and interest of the Hindu, and perhaps he is partially satisfied. But then comes the missionary of another church, and the mind of the inquirer gets unsettled. And thus, as he passes through various dogmas and teachings he naturally becomes quite confounded, and knows not what to do." The situation would not be quite so confusing if the different sects were always friendly. But this is by no means sure to be the case. Indeed, as regards the two great divisions, more conspicuous than any others in India, the Roman Catholic and the Protestant, instead of there being friendship and coöperation between them, there is much positive hostility. Of course, all this stands in the way of the advance of Christianity. It sets the Hindu and Mohammedan to saying: "Here is a religion that comes to us pleading love; yet its sects hate each other. If it wants us to listen to it, let it practice what it preaches." Or, "Here is a religion which comes to us declaring it has the truth. But every sect preaches it differently. Which is right? When they settle their differences, and agree among themselves what the truth is, it will be time enough for us to give attention to the matter. Until then we will keep our own religion." Can we

blame those to whom we offer our divided and sectarian Christianity for thus speaking?

A greater hindrance still to the progress of Christianity in India is the character of the doctrines preached. The Roman Catholic preaches an infallible Church and an infallible Pope. Such infallibility it is not easy for either an intelligent Hindu or an intelligent Mohammedan to believe. The Catholic also teaches prayer to the Virgin Mary, and to various saints, and the constant use, in worship, of images and the crucifix. All this is repugnant to the Mohammedan who believes there is no God but God, and no proper object of worship except God. To the Hindu it does not seem so strange; indeed it is quite in the line of what he is accustomed to. But his question is, "Why exchange one idolatry for another? If one is going to pray to any other beings than the one Supreme God, why not to one's own Vishnu, and Siva, and Rama, and Lakshmi and Sarasvati? Are not these as good as the Christian's Christ and Mary? And if images are good, why not keep one's own, instead of throwing them away, and taking the Christian crucifix and images of Christian saints?" Even when it comes to those doctrines preached alike by Catholic and Protestant the situation is not much improved. Both preach an infallible Bible. But what proof do they offer? It seems to the Hindu and the Mohammedan that they offer none. Why, then, should one of them give up the Koran of his own people, and the other the Vedas of his, and accept, without proof, the sacred book of a foreign race? Moreover, as soon as the thoughtful Hindu and Mohammedan begin to examine this so-called infallible book of the Christian, they find, with much that is high and beautiful and that commends itself as true, other things not a few of which seem to them unreasonable, absurd, and even immoral, as, for example, such stories as those of the talking serpent; the flood and the ark; the talking ass; the walls of a fortified city falling down at the blowing of rams' horns; a man living three days in the stomach of a fish; God at one time sending a lying spirit among the prophets to deceive a certain king, and at another commanding a warrior chieftain to murder without mercy thousands of innocent women and children; Christ cursing a fig-tree for not having figs on it when the time for figs had not yet come; Christ in the Book of Revelation transformed from a being of love and pity to a being without love and pity, taking vengeance on his enemies in ways more shocking and bloody than anything attributed by the Hindus to

their goddess Kali, the bloodiest of all their divinities. It should be borne in mind that to the people of non-Christian lands these Bible stories and representations are not surrounded by that halo of sacredness which tends to blind us to their irrational and unethical, not to say shocking character. Thus it is not difficult to see why Hindus and Mohammedans object when we ask them to throw away the sacred books which from their childhood they have been taught to venerate, and accept as an infallible standard of truth a strange and alien volume containing these matters.

Furthermore, both Catholic and Protestant insist upon the acceptance of the doctrines of the trinity, the incarnation, and the deity of Christ. Against these doctrines the Mohammedan revolts utterly. He sees no ground for believing that they are true; indeed they seem to him to destroy the great fundamental doctrine of the unity of God. On the other hand, the Hindu says: "My own religion has its trinity; why should I give that up? Is it not older than your trinity-doctrine? Is it not quite as well supported as yours? And as to incarnations, you have only one; my religion possesses the advantage of having nine or ten." What can the trinitarian Christian answer?

If the Hindu is a man of education and progressive thought he will very likely add, "True, I am growing skeptical regarding my own Hindu trinity and incarnations. But if I lay them aside, it will hardly be to take up others that seem to me to offer no better evidence of their truth. It will rather be to accept, if I continue to give attention to religion at all, that high religion of the soul, toward which all the best thought and deepest insight of Christian as well as other lands seems to tend, which sees in God the Infinite and Eternal Spirit whose forms of manifestation are not three merely, but numberless; and who incarnates himself not in a single miraculous man, in a single age, but in all humanity."

Still further, both Catholic and Protestant teach a scheme of vicarious atonement which, both to the Mohammedan and the Hindu, but especially to the Hindu, seems unethical and impossible. Indeed, of all the doctrines of modern orthodox Christianity, perhaps the one that seems to the intelligent Hindu least worthy of acceptance is that which represents Christ as bearing the penalty of men's sins and transferring to men his righteousness. To talk to a Hindu about substitutional virtue or vicarious punishment is like talking to him about substitutional intelligence or vicarious health, — an absurdity on its very face. That one being can be righteous, or be counted righteous, for another, or

bear the consequences of another's evil deeds, seems to him as impossible as that figs can bear thistles; nay, as unthinkable as that two and two can make five. To him it is an ethical axiom that "whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap" sooner or later, even if it be in a thousandth rebirth. And is he not right? Does not the soundest ethical judgment of the world, including the Christian world, sustain him? What a pity it is, then, that Christianity should be presented to him not in its most ethical form, but in a form which fundamentally violates ethical law!

Finally, both Catholic and Protestant preach a heaven of eternal bliss and a hell of eternal torments, to which Christianity alone holds the keys. According to the Protestant, all men who accept Christ—that is, who put their faith in the redemptive scheme as taught by Protestant orthodoxy—will have heaven opened to them with all its joys. All who do not, will be thrust into hell forever. According to the Catholic that which will open the gates of heaven is baptism into the one true Catholic Church. To be outside that Church is to be lost. Thus the alternative put before the Mohammedan and the Hindu by the Protestant is, Believe, or perish; and by the Roman Catholic, Enter the true Church, or perish. When these heathen men and women hesitate, and inquire anxiously, "If we accept your terms and gain admission to your heaven, who will be there? Shall we find there our fathers and our ancestors whom we love?" what is the answer? The orthodox scheme, whether Protestant or Catholic, answers, *can* answer, only one thing: and that is, "Nay, you will find none in heaven except those who have come in through one or the other of these two doors. Your ancestors are lost." Is it strange that a religion with such a message does not commend itself readily to intelligent minds in India? What thinking man could respect a Hindu or a Mohammedan who would accept a heaven from which he knew his forefathers and the men and women whom he most loved and honored were shut out?

These illustrations are sufficient to make clear what I mean when I say that the character of many of the doctrines preached by the average missionary in India, whether Catholic or Protestant, is a serious hindrance to the progress of Christianity. Nor do I overstate the feeling that exists on this subject. No one can read the native periodical press of India or come into extended contact with the more intelligent native mind, as I have been permitted to do, without discovering that these objections to Chris-

tianity are in the popular thought everywhere. That Christianity makes as much advance as it does in the face of such doctrines and of the antagonism which they awaken, shows its moral power and vitality.

I must notice one other obstacle to the advance of Christianity in India. Perhaps it is as serious as any that I have named. It is the lives of those who stand there as the representatives of Christianity. Of course I do not mean the missionaries or their families. As has already been said, they are usually good people, who in character and conduct are a credit to Christianity, and go far to recommend it. Nor do I mean the native converts. These do not always live their new religion as well as could be wished, yet they seldom seriously scandalize it. I do mean the English and other Europeans who are in India for business and government purposes, or connected with the army that holds India in subjection. Of course sweeping charges against this class would be unjust. There are no better people in the world than some of the English officials, business men, and even military men, in India. They are a credit to the country from which they came. They are an honor to Christianity. Their characters and lives reënforce the preaching of the missionaries and make their work easier. But there are others, many, of whom this cannot be said. The natives of India naturally look upon all persons who come from Christian lands as Christians. If they see such persons living pure, true lives, they give Christianity the credit. If they discover them living lives of sin, they say, "See the fruits of Christianity." In this they judge of us and our religion precisely as we do of them and theirs. If we discover vice among them we are very quick to lay it at the door of their religious faith. At once we say, "See what bad fruit their religion bears."

It is notorious that some of the worst vices of India have been introduced from Christian countries. Before the Europeans came there was very little drinking. Both Hindus and Mohammedans were remarkable for their temperance. But the Europeans have introduced drinking customs everywhere. I was amazed to see how almost universal is the habit of using intoxicants among the English. It was very rarely that I saw an Englishman, or even an Englishwoman, at a hotel table or in an English home in India, or on the steamer going to or returning from India, who did not drink. Most often the kind of drink used was brandy or whiskey. The result of this general use of liquors among the English has been the spread of the custom far and wide among the native

upper classes, and then from them down to the lower classes, until the evil now is very far-reaching and dreadful. I have seldom in my life heard more pitiful tales than some that were told me in India of the effects of drink. Bishop Hurst quotes the Archdeacon of Bombay as saying, "For every Christian we have made in India, we have made one hundred drunkards."¹

The story of opium in India is as sad and dark as that of liquor. The production of opium is an extensive and lucrative government monopoly, which has been built up for the sake of revenue. The chief foreign market is China, the Chinese government having been compelled at the cannon's mouth to permit the importation of the drug. But of course the revenue would be greater if there were a home market also. So, with a heartlessness that seems incredible, the British rulers of India for a long term of years have been steadily encouraging its sale in all parts of the Indian empire. It would be hard to point out a blacker crime against humanity than is this conduct of the Indian government in thus deliberately inaugurating and carrying on a system of raising revenue by the degradation of the bodies and souls of its people.

Another evil that has been much increased in India by the coming of Europeans is unchastity. The English soldiers have done almost as much harm by the impurity of their lives as by the bloody wars that they have carried on. Nor has the evil been confined to soldiers. Thousands of the young Englishmen who have gone to India, to engage in business or in the service of the government, seem to have left their characters and consciences at home, so far as this matter is concerned; and the disaster they have wrought, and the suffering they have caused, have been terrible enough. Generally in India, where there has not been contamination from foreign influences, the purity of women and the sanctity of the home are gratifyingly high.

Of course these terrible facts, that drink and opium and sexual vice have been brought into India and entailed upon the Indian people by men reared under the influence of the Christian religion, necessarily create much prejudice in the native mind against Christianity, and make the work of the missionary very much harder than it otherwise would be. I only wonder that the prejudice thus caused is not greater than it is. For let us imagine the tables turned, and then let us try to think how it would be with us. Suppose the Hindus had come to this country, and by force

¹ *Indika*, p. 530.

of superior arms had conquered it. Suppose there were now in our land 150,000 Hindus, some of them carrying on the government in their own way, some of them soldiers manning our forts and keeping us in awe, some of them business men gathering into their hands the lion's share of the most profitable kinds of business of the land, and some of them missionaries, trying to convert us all to Hinduism. Then suppose, further, that these Hindu rulers of ours, these soldiers and these business men, had introduced among us on a large scale drunkenness, the use of opium, licentiousness, and other vices; is it credible that we should take kindly to their religion, or look with great favor upon the work of their missionaries?

These, then, are some of the obstacles — probably the principal ones — that stand in the way of the introduction of Christianity into India. It is easy to see how serious they are. Now let us look on the other side: for there is another side to the picture. I do not think I have painted in too strong colors the difficulties with which the cause of Christian missions in India has to contend. But there are certain helps and encouragements that need also to be pointed out, if we would understand the whole situation.

First of all, the fact that the missionaries themselves are, in nearly all cases, true, sincere, earnest, good men is of the greatest possible importance. This goes far to counterbalance the evil influence of the bad foreigners. If Mohammedans or Hindus point to evil Englishmen and say, "See, these are the natural products of Christianity," it is easy to reply, "No, these men are bad because they disobey Christianity. If they lived up to the teachings of their religion they would be good, as you yourselves confess the missionaries are." In the same way, the men of high moral and religious character among the English officials and business men, of whom there are many, also help to counteract the influence of the drink, the opium and the sexual vice, and show to the people of India what real Christianity, embodied in the life, means.

A second thing that operates to disarm prejudice and win favor for Christianity is the fact that through it, directly or indirectly, certain very important kinds of good are coming to India. An era of education is opening, such as neither Hinduism nor Mohammedanism ever created. New intellectual life is kindling throughout the whole Indian peninsula. Schools are being established in nearly every important village, high schools in all the

larger towns, and colleges in the leading cities. Books are multiplying. Periodicals are being issued by the thousand, are going everywhere, and are carrying knowledge to the people. Science is coming in. So is invention. Means of quick transit and communication are binding all parts of the land together. India is beginning to feel a unity and a national life such as she has not felt before for centuries, if ever. More than all this, she is coming into contact with other nations and peoples, and especially with the great nations and the splendid civilization of the West, and through this contact she is beginning to feel the thrill of a great world-life.

Of course many carp at all this, resist it and call it evil. But it is not so with the best minds. They see that it is an untold good. They see that it means rebirth to India, and a future more splendid than anything that she has dreamed. And what is more, they see that for all this enlarging life, and this birth of new hopes and prospects, India is indebted to Christian nations and more or less to Christianity. Christianity is the religion of the men and the nations that are leading the world. Christianity is the religion of the great world-movement of progress. Of course it is only one factor of this progress, but allied with it as it is, it cannot be unworthy of the respect and attention of India.

This contact of India with Christian lands, Christian civilization, Christian thought and Christian life, is steadily telling upon Indian thought. It is slowly but surely interesting India in Christianity. What is of the highest importance, it is helping her to see that Christianity is a far larger thing than the narrow theology with which, hitherto, its history in India has been so largely identified. It is causing an ever increasing number of her more thoughtful minds to study Christianity, as it ought always to be studied, in its spirit, its ideals, its motives, its results, in the lives of its great representatives, in the work it is doing in the world, in its philanthropies, its charities, its beneficences, its moral reforms, and especially in the teachings, the spirit and the life of its great Founder. The result of such study is inevitable. Those who engage in it find their prejudice against Christianity more and more dissipated, and feel themselves increasingly drawn to it by its reasonableness, its beauty, its undeniable moral power, and its unequalled achievements for humanity. Whatever progress Christianity is making, among the educated and more influential minds of India, is the result of such influences as these, not of the theological teachings of the missionaries. It is in this growing

identification of Christianity in the public thought, not with a set of dogmas, but with a spirit, with an ideal of life, with that which is morally most virile, creative and exalted in the civilization of the West, that the hope of Christianity in India lies; as, indeed, it is in the same kind of larger interpretation of Christianity that its hope in the world lies. It is a great pity that Christianity should not be represented in India by its broadest minds,—minds that would be quick to recognize and welcome whatever is good in other religions; minds that would everywhere present Christianity to the Indian people in forms least dogmatic or controversial, and most reasonable, most ethical and most spiritual.

Let us not, however, underrate the value of the work done by the missionaries, narrow as many of them are. They are not reaching the higher Hindu castes. They are not reaching the Mohammedans. They are not reaching the Parsees or the Buddhists. Only to a very slight extent are they reaching the educated classes. The native thought and intelligence of India almost wholly reject their dogmas. Such converts as they make are found mainly among the lowest castes (or outcasts) and consist of persons who have the least influence in society. Yet this does not mean that they are not doing good. They are unquestionably doing great good, partly by the very work of converting these poor, despised people, and thus giving them a new standing, and imparting a new and higher impulse to their lives. Hinduism neglects the poor. Caste treads them under foot. But Christianity in all its forms befriends them. It is to be said to the honor of all the Protestant missions of India at least, of whatever name, that they are helping, instructing, and lifting up the lower classes, and offering to them hopes and prospects such as they could not have had under their old faiths. This is much, very much.

But this is not all. While missions are not converting many persons of education or of standing, and while they are not greatly affecting directly the main currents of Indian thought, they are an important factor in a great religious evolution. More and more as time goes on, and the missionary learns by experience what is possible and what is not, his work tends to enlarge and become many-sided. To his preaching and catechising he adds educational and charitable work. Wherever he goes, he plants a school. In the large centres he establishes his high schools and colleges. He organizes zenana missions to carry knowledge of the Bible and of much else that is important, to women in the seclusion of their homes. In many places he establishes medical missions, with hospitals, and free dispensaries for the poor.

Nor should it be forgotten that even the very presence of the missionary in a community is likely to be an enlightening influence. Usually he is a man of considerable education, often he is a college graduate. He has brought with him to India something of the thought, the culture, the ideals of life, the habits and customs of the Western world. He introduces higher standards of living. He gives his influence in favor of better public sanitation, better homes for the people, better streets and public buildings, better public improvements generally. His home and family life, in which the wife receives the same consideration as her husband, and the daughters are educated with the same care as the sons, becomes a valuable object-lesson in the community where he dwells. Thus the Christian missions of India, in spite of their belated theology, have a place, and a very important place, among the influences that are operating to break up India's stagnation, to overthrow her religious superstitions, and to turn her toward the light. The mental and moral ferment going on as the result of all these influences is tremendous. We can only very imperfectly realize it.

What will the result of it all be for religion? Will Hinduism and Mohammedanism be overthrown? I dare not say this. I dare not expect it. He knows little of what it means for a great historic faith to weave its roots into the very fibre of the souls of a people for thousands of years, who talks lightly of the overthrow of either of these great religions of India. But there are strong and growing signs that they will be more or less reformed and purified, — particularly Hinduism. Everything shows that India has already distinctly entered upon the task of purging away the worst of her religious superstitions, and bringing herself by degrees into line with the moral ideals of the West. Her progress is slow, and must be slow; but it cannot be permanently checked.

Is India approximating Christianity? That depends upon what we mean by Christianity. She is certainly not approximating Roman Catholic Christianity, or Calvinistic Protestantism, or any form of dogmatic orthodoxy. The Christianity of the Beatitudes, the Golden Rule, the Lord's Prayer, and Paul's chapter on Charity, have a great charm for the better minds of India. There are many indications that India is moving in the general direction of such a Christianity. Indeed in her Brahmo Somaj, and approximately also in her Arya Somaj, she already has such a Christianity existing among her own people, set in operation by her own sons. Whether these Somajes will ever become widely

accepted, or not, is as yet uncertain. But everything indicates that they mark the path along which her religious development is moving and is likely to move.

What, then, will be the future of Christian missions? Will their work increase, or will it decline? I think it will increase. But the extent to which it will do so must depend largely, without doubt, upon the question whether or not the missions broaden their theological basis. Doubtless there is room for some, indeed for considerable, increase, on their present basis. I do not see any reason why, without any change, their conquests among the less intelligent classes (where their successes thus far have mainly been) should not go on until the lower-caste Hindus and the half-civilized hill-tribes become quite largely Christian. To make advance here the main requisite is zeal. There is little thought-opposition to be encountered. The looseness or entire absence of caste regulations greatly diminishes the social difficulties to be overcome. The task to be accomplished is simply that everywhere relatively easy one, of a people of high civilization imposing its customs and its religion upon classes of people very much below it.

But as soon as we reach the educated and high-caste Hindus, and the Mohammedans, the situation wholly changes. Then the question becomes the very serious one suggested at the beginning of this paper, Can Christianity, no matter with how high a civilization it may be allied, conquer strong, proud, highly organized, historic religions? Toward the answer to this crucial question it must be confessed the history of India thus far furnishes very little data. The only thing that seems clear is that, if Christianity ever does gain any considerable acceptance among leading native minds, Mohammedan, Hindu, Parsee, Buddhist or Jain, it must be a form of Christianity less theological, less peculiarly "Western," more sympathetic towards other faiths, and in every way broader and more liberal than that which has been generally preached in India up to this time.

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DR. WINCHELL'S "PREADAMITES."

Reprinted from *Unitarian Review*,
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REV. J. T. SUNDERLAND.



DR. WINCHELL'S "PREADAMITES." *

Prof. Winchell's book belongs to the class of literature which attempts to reconcile the Bible with science. But it is among the very best of its class; and, what is more, it has a real value entirely aside from its attempt to "harmonize" Moses with Peschel and Lyell. Indeed, the book seems to me in several respects so notable that I cannot but think such readers of the *Unitarian Review* as may not have read the work will be glad to have their attention called to it in some detail.

The aim of the book may be stated in general terms to be to show that Adam—the Adam of the Bible—cannot have been the progenitor of the human race, and that the collateral statements of the Bible either imply or permit the existence of human beings before Adam, he being simply the father of the Jewish people. This is the main thesis of the work. The author also endeavors to show that the old belief that the black races are the descendants of Ham is neither Scriptural nor scientific, and to answer the questions naturally arising in the mind of the reader,—“Who were the first men?” “Where did they appear, and how long since?” “How have the different races of mankind come into existence?” and “What have been their paths of dispersion over the earth?”

It will thus be seen that the work is both theological and scientific.

The positions taken by the author are maintained with much logical ability, and with great fulness of appeal to the Bible, secular history, Hebrew and Egyptian chronology, and the writings of eminent investigators in all branches of ethnology.

* *Preadamites; or, A Demonstration of the Existence of Men before Adam.* Together with a study of their condition, antiquity, racial affinities, and progressive dispersion over the earth. With charts and illustrations. By Alexander Winchell, LL.D., Professor of Geology and Palæontology in the University of Michigan, author of *Sketches of Creation*, etc. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co; London: Trübner & Co. 1880.

Prof. Winchell, who is understood to be "orthodox," has evidently written his book with an "orthodox" public most prominently in view; and to this class of readers it will perhaps be of more value than to any other, in calling their attention, in a very telling way, to certain lines of facts which too many of their number, even their preachers and scholars, are in the habit of turning away from and refusing to see. But the book has scarcely less value to liberals, as covering better than has been done by any preceding work a field of thought and research with which every intelligent liberal ought to be familiar. Last, but not least, the work has great interest from a purely ethnological point of view. From a somewhat familiar acquaintance with the ethnological writings of Quatrefages, Peschel, Brace, Foster, Huxley, Haeckel, Prichard, Nott and Gliddon, Agassiz, Tylor, Lubbock, and others, I do not hesitate to rank this work of Prof. Winchell as second to none of these in spreading before the reader, in a clear, compact, and scholarly manner, the latest and best information attainable upon the whole subject of the races of mankind, their origin, probable lines of dispersion, habitats, characteristics, and respective parts in the world's past progress. One of the most valuable features of Prof. Winchell's book is the charts and illustrations, which, distributed through the volume, throw great light upon all these subjects. Particularly worthy of note is the "Chart of the Progressive Dispersion of Mankind," by means of which the author shows, by differently colored lines, the paths along which he thinks the different races have advanced from their original home (which, in common with Peschel, Quatrefages, Haeckel, and others, he conceives to have been a continent, known among scientists as Lemuria, now buried beneath the Indian Ocean) to their present habitats. The basis of this chart, as the author tells us, is Kracher's *Ethnographische Welt-Karte* (Wien, 1875); but readers of Haeckel will recognize it as also bearing striking resemblances to the ethnographic chart which prefaces the first volume of that writer's *History of Creation*. Winchell, however, while agreeing with Haeckel in most important

particulars as to the place of origin, affinities, and routes of dispersion of the race, has given us a chart larger than Haeckel's, and more careful as to details, and containing some important new features. To any one desiring to gain information regarding past migrations and present locations of the races of the world, this chart is simply invaluable. After seeing it, one wonders that any work upon ethnology or ethnography should ever be published (as almost all works on these subjects are) without such a chart. It would be scarcely more of an omission to publish a geography or a history without a map.

Scarcely less valuable than the Chart of Dispersion are the Tables of Affiliated Classification of Mankind on pages 52, 53, and 300-306. Prof. Winchell adopts very nearly the classification of Peschel. He makes the number of races seven. Of these, four—to wit, the Australian (in Australia and Tasmania), the Papuan (in the islands of Melanesia), the Hottentot (in South Africa), and the Negro (in Central Africa)—he calls the *Black* races, and assigns them the lowest place, both structurally and in point of culture, in his scale of classification. The "first men" of the world, he thinks, were of the Australian or pre-Australian family. Next above the Black, he places the *Brown* races; namely, the Dravidian (the prehistoric inhabitants of India, still surviving in a few localities) and the Mongoloid (including the Malay, the Malayo-Chinese, the Chinese, the Japanese, the Altaic, the Behrings, and the American families). Finally and highest in the scale, he puts the *White* (or Mediterranean or "Blushing") race, including (1) the Sunburnt or Hamitic family of Western Asia and Northern Africa, (2) the Brunette or Semitic family of Western Asia and North-eastern Africa, and (3) the White or Aryan or Indo-European or Japhetic family, including the Hindoos and Persians of Asia, and the Latins, Greeks, Slavs, Teutons, and Kelts of Europe.

Our author, while holding that Adam was "a representative of the white race," regards the white race itself as having sprung from the older Dravida of Southern Asia;

and, among the excellent illustrations of the volume, he furnishes us, not exactly with a portrait of Adam, but with a picture of a Dravidian of the Toda tribe, Nilghiri Hills in Southern India,—a brown-faced, symmetrical featured, bright-eyed, curly-haired, moustached individual [far too intelligent looking, if he had been in Eden, not to have "known good from evil," and not to have at least suspected that it was the proper thing to wear clothes], who, we are told, is "supposed to represent the stock from which Adam sprung."

The book is throughout able in its argument, and in the main candid, though there are not wanting places where there is suggestion of the special pleader. Yet the author succeeds in giving us, on the whole, the impression that he is a thoughtful and sincere searcher after truth rather than "a champion of a cause." His chain of argument, extending through chapters eight to fourteen inclusive, in which he endeavors to show that the time since the supposed Noachian flood, or even since the supposed creation of Adam, is entirely insufficient to account for the differentiations in type which appear, and for fully four thousand years have appeared, in the human species, is not more able than it is fair and convincing. Let me give my readers a glimpse at one of the lines of facts employed, with conclusions deduced therefrom.

Prof. Winchell shows from pictures and inscriptions on Egyptian monuments that the negro type, as well as several other well-known human types, was as well marked and distinct 2000 years B.C. as it is to-day. That is to say, 268 years after the Usherian Deluge, if we trust the Egyptian inscriptions, or 342 years according to the iconographs, we find the negro exactly what he is now. Thus, in the brief space of these 268 or 342 years, the whole enormous process of differentiation, from the Noachite type (white) to the negro, must have taken place. Is this credible? If such an enormous differentiation could take place in three or four hundred years, how does it happen that in the three or four thousand years which have elapsed since there has

been no perceptible change? Or, if we take the ground that the deluge was local, which the Scriptures in the most explicit and emphatic manner declare it was not, our difficulties are only slightly less. With a local deluge, we are no longer compelled to trace all human types to Noah. Fourteen hundred and fifty-six years more — the time, according to Usher, which elapsed between the creation of Adam and the flood — are allowed us in which to account for the differentiation of the negro. But does even this afford time enough? According to Usher, Adam appeared 5,884 years ago. The negro was finally differentiated in 1,798 years from that time, and has not changed during the last 4,086 years. In other words, the negro continued to diverge during thirty per cent. of his existence upon the earth; but, during the remaining seventy per cent., he has not diverged to any appreciable extent. Prof. Winchell holds that, in the light of ethnological science, such a belief cannot be held. Still further. If we take Lepsius for our authority in Egyptian chronology,—and no writer on the subject is more careful or stands higher,—we find that *Egypt existed as an established monarchy* 3,892 years before Christ, which is only 112 years after the creation of Adam, according to the dates of Usher. Or if, instead of adopting Lepsius as an authority, we adopt Brugsch, Mariette, Lenormant, Böckh, or Unger, all of them high authorities, we have Egypt existing as a settled monarchy as early as 396 if not 1,698 years before Adam. Such considerations as these give us a glimpse of one or two of the many classes of difficulties which are shown by Prof. Winchell to lie in the way of a belief in the Adam of the Genesis story, as the first parent of the human race.

It is unquestionably the scientific side of Prof. Winchell's book that is the strong side. And yet he reaches some scientific conclusions which are at least open to question. One of the most novel of his theories is that which he advances to account for the origin of the hunting tribes of American Indians. Nearly every writer of eminence on either side the sea, who has written of the American aborig-

ines, has classed them all together as essentially one race, with an origin from a common source; and generally that source has been regarded as Asiatic. Moreover, Behring's Strait has commonly been fixed upon as the point of probable passage from the Old World to the New. But Prof. Winchell regards them as really two races. One, he thinks, came over Behring's Strait, and gave us the American Eskimo, the Mound-builders, and the more civilized and stationary populations of California, Mexico, and Peru. The other came from the Polynesian Islands to the west coast of South America, about the thirtieth degree of south latitude, or just south of the empire of the Incas, pressed through the passes of the Andes, entered, and in time populated the rich plains of the eastern part of the continent, and became the hunting tribes of South America. In the course of time, these pressed up into the Carribean Islands and across to Florida, and thence still north, forming the hunting tribes of North America, which expelled the Mound-builders. This theory is at least ingenious. It may be held by other writers beside Dr. Winchell; but I do not recollect to have met it. It will need to be supported by a good deal more evidence than our author furnishes before it will be generally accepted.

Another point at which many will take decided issue with this book is its exceedingly low estimate of the negro, not only as regards his past achievements and present condition, but also his physical structure and possibilities. Devoting a chapter to the task of proving the non-Hamitic origin of the negro race, the author devotes another to showing their essential inferiority to nearly or quite all the other races of the world. Of course, he is able to cite a great many facts and figures in support of such a position. But it is one of those cases where facts and figures are apt to be of very little value, because there are just as many on the other side. Humboldt declares that there are no races which are to be accounted naturally inferior races. We are prone to forget that, just as we set down all forms of religion which are not our own as inferior to our own, so we set down civiliza-

tions which are unlike ours, and physical characteristics—as hair and color of skin, etc.—which are not like ours, as inferior to ours, when very possibly, in a just estimate, they may be superior. Peschel says that no African races are so low down as several American races, notably some of the Athabascan tribes of the Hudson Bay territory, and the Botacudos and Fuegians of South America. Huxley says that we are probably indebted to the negro for the invention of the process of the smelting of iron, an invention scarcely second in importance to the invention of the alphabet. One of the prominent marks of negro inferiority urged by Winchell is dolichocephalism; and yet Quatrefages calls attention to the fact that the greater number of the higher civilizations of the world has arisen among dolichocephalous peoples. Prof. Winchell seems never to have considered the important fact that all tribes of negroes which we know anything of speak agglutinative languages, the second stage of languages. Monosyllabic languages, which are the first and most crude attempts at human speech, exist only among the yellow races; so that linguistically we must class the negroes above the Chinese. In the Middle Ages, the basin of the Niger contained empires of black peoples very little inferior in many respects to European kingdoms of the same epoch. We forget that though we, the white nations of the world, happen to be taking the lead in civilization now, it has not always been so. And very likely the time may come again when it will not be so.

As a part of his argument for the inferiority of the negro, Dr. Winchell urges at great length the point that the white and black races are in nature so far apart that union of the two races produces a progeny which, if not sterile at first, tends soon to become so, and is in every way inferior in vitality to either the pure white or the pure black. But this is also one of the cases where it is of little value to have facts on one side, unless we can have those on the other, so as to weigh the two together. Dr. Winchell cites Dr. Nott as giving testimony to the effect that mulattoes are less prolific than the parent stocks, and have a tendency to run out;

but he does not tell us that Nott says this of South Carolina only, while he confesses that in Louisiana, Florida, and Alabama, mulattoes are robust, fruitful, and energetic. Peschel declares that, when sterility appears in mulattoes, the cause is not physiological, but an immoral life. In harmony with Peschel and in opposition to Winchell, Quatrefages insists that, although many facts may be cited to show the degeneracy of mulattoes, yet such degeneracy is nearly or quite always due to conditions under which they live; and, when these conditions are equally favorable with the conditions of whites and negroes, he thinks they are quite as prolific and strong as the latter. He cites many facts to show this. He also brings forward testimony from distinguished travellers and others, showing that half-breeds of the most opposite races are very commonly among the handsomest people in the world, which indicates not physical deterioration, but a high degree of physical perfection. In answer to Prof. Winchell's claim that mulattoes are *morally* as well as physically inferior to both negroes and whites, both Peschel and Quatrefages urge that what of truth there is in this comes from the fact that unions of whites and blacks are very often morally criminal, and the offspring are looked upon as a sort of outcasts. But, when the unions are legal and legitimate, and the moral surroundings and education of the mulattoes are favorable, they develop into a fine class of people. Other points might be mentioned in which Prof. Winchell has taken ethnologic grounds which are at least open to question.

With so much of comment upon the more purely scientific side of the work before us, I turn now to the Biblical and theological side.

Dr. Winchell gives us distinctly to understand, at the very outset of his work, that he regards all statements found in the Bible, touching scientific questions, as amenable to science. If, after due investigation, science is found to support them, they stand: if science contradicts them, they must fall. Here are his words: "That the first man came into existence but six thousand years ago, and, with his immedi-

ate successors, attained an age ten times as great as modern men, is a question to be examined in the light of anthropology, ethnology, archæology, and history. That the western centre of Asia was the primitive seat of the human species can certainly be confirmed or discredited by researches touching early traditions, migrations, and monumental records." This we say at once is fair and candid; and if we remember that it is written by a man who is claimed as orthodox, and with an orthodox public mainly in view, I think we must also say it is outspoken and brave. Certainly, it is brave for a man writing for orthodox readers to adopt the theory of Evolution, as Prof. Winchell all through the book gives us to understand he does, even going so far as to imply that he believes in man's descent (or ascent) from the highest of the inferior animals; and not in Western Asia either, where the Bible account is generally regarded as placing man's origin, but in the submerged continent of Lemuria. However, it will be pretty hard for even admirers to avoid thinking him timid, when he comes to deal with the Bible in points where it plainly contains errors. Evidently, he has not courage to confess in plain words that the Bible may make mistakes. Indeed, he even goes out of his way more than once to pat on the back the theory of Bible infallibility, and to lead us to understand, without exactly saying so, that he thinks the theory true. And yet that he is not really blind to the errors of Bible chronology, genealogy, ethnology, and so on, appears in many places in his book; for example, on pages 8 and 9, where he quotes with implied approval passages from Sears and Moses Stuart, declaring that there are thirty thousand to eighty thousand various readings in the Hebrew manuscripts which we possess of the Old Testament, and on page 11, where, in speaking of the genealogical tables in Genesis, chapters x. and xl, he says, "The tenth chapter is the older document, and, presumptively, possesses the highest authority." Of course there could be no degrees of authority, if all were infallible and perfect.

Whatever there is of outspokenness and courage shown in

the book only makes our disappointment the greater on coming upon exhibitions of an opposite character, as, for example, the following: After having told us (in the passage already quoted) that the statements of the opening chapters of Genesis, involving scientific questions, must be tested by science, the author goes forward practically to make null what he has said by informing us that even if, as the result of our scientific investigations, we find ourselves obliged to declare any of those statements untrue, that will not prove "that the divine truth was not contained in the original documents, but only that it so far transcended uninspired knowledge or apprehension that uninspired men have been unable to grasp it." And in many places in the book it is urged that, if mistakes or scientific inaccuracies occur anywhere in the Bible, it is, of course, the fault of the translators: the original, or what God wrote, was without error. Well, without stopping to ask Prof. Winchell, as Col. Ingersoll or any other sharp reasoner of his class would, how he knows that God wrote the original, I will content myself with merely expressing admiration at the exceeding convenience of this double-barrelled plan of Biblical interpretation. It may not be in every way satisfactory, but it is certainly convenient. Better than any other that I know does it enable one to face two opposite ways at the same time, even very possibly thinking honestly all the while that he is facing only one way. To the scientist, it holds out the very sweet sop: "Of course, science must have her verdicts respected. Whenever the Bible touches anything which comes within the domain of science, it must be examined, and science must decide whether it is true or not." While to the theologian it holds out the sop, quite equally sweet: "Yes, to be sure, we let science have its way about these things. We don't pretend to contradict science: the verdicts of science are not to be gainsaid. But then, you know, if science decides that the Bible contains any error anywhere, — as in the declaration that the world was created in six days, or that the whole earth was drowned with a flood, or that Eve was created from a rib of Adam, — why, we sim-

ply say that she does not understand the sacred declarations: rightly interpreted, they would not contradict science. All that is wanted is a new translation, or a better method of exegesis." This is the game which, consciously or unconsciously, Prof. Winchell plays all through those chapters of his book in which he deals with the Bible. In the midst of the difficulties, discrepancies, and contradictions, which come to view in treating the relations of Genesis to his doctrine of Preadamites, he again and again insists that, if we could discover some new and more correct interpretation of the original Hebrew Scriptures, we should find our way clear to believe, on Biblical grounds, that Adam was not the first man; that Eve, instead of being taken out of Adam's side, was born naturally of a Dravidian father and mother; that all the human race did not descend from the Eden pair; that the deluge covered only some small section of the earth, etc. One cannot help wondering if Prof. Winchell ever heard of the preacher who, after delivering a series of sermons on the "Harmony of the Mosaic Account of Creation and Geology," and urging that all that was necessary to reconcile the two was simply a proper interpretation of the Genesis account, making the word "day," for example, mean not a day, but an indefinite period of a million of years or so, had occasion to bargain with one of his flock for a pig. After a few days, the man who had engaged to furnish him with the young porker came, bringing a miserable, worthless dog, saying, "Here is the pig I sold you." The minister, of course, objected, and declared that the animal brought was no pig, but only an ugly cur. "I grant," answered the layman, reflectively, "that science, and even my own eyes, pronounce the beast a dog; but the necessities of the case are that it should be a pig. Theologically, therefore, I have no doubt it may be considered to be a pig. Science and my own eyes probably err for want of a proper interpretation. With a new and superior exegesis, I feel sure the animal will turn out a pig."

Prof. Winchell's system of Biblical exegesis, as shown in chapters ii., xviii., and xxviii., not to say chapters iii.,

iv., v., vii., and xii., of the work before us, as well as the exegesis generally of the "reconcilers" of Scripture and science, if turned in the channel of mercenary things, might easily be relied upon to interpret a dog into a pig. Such a task would be slight compared with that of interpreting the account of the creation of man, in Genesis, in such a manner as to make it harmonize with the theory that the race had been in existence thousands of years before Adam. For, if the Bible anywhere declares anything, it declares, in plain, straightforward, unmistakable prose, that when God had finished the rest of the creation he then made. Adam, "*when there was NOT A MAN to till the soil,*" and planted a garden which he named Eden, and put this first man in it, and made from a rib of his body a woman to be his wife, which woman Adam called "Eve (Living), because *she was the mother of ALL LIVING.*" And from this first human pair spring all the nations of the earth. Any interpretation which pushes and pulls and twists the plain Biblical narrative, whether as told in our common English version or in the original Hebrew (for the Hebrew is as plain and explicit in nearly or quite every particular as the English), until the Bible account is made to harmonize with a theory, the direct opposite of what it says, is a system of interpretation according to which anything can be made to mean anything. Granted that certain difficulties in the Genesis story—for example, that suggested by the old question, "Where did Cain get his wife?"—are lessened, or even altogether removed, as soon as we suppose the existence of Preadamites, yet they are removed only by introducing other far greater difficulties of a different kind. After a few more, or perhaps a few thousand more, books like the one before us shall have been written, it will at last be found out, what it seems singular that a man like Prof. Winchell should not have found out already, that Genesis is not in any sense a scientific work, or even more than to a very meagre extent an historical work, but that it is in the main legendary and mythical; that the anonymous authors from whom it came lived before there was any such thing

as science, as we to-day understand the word, that they shared the conceptions of their age as to the creation of the world and man, and that it is as unreasonable to make the attempt to reconcile their notions on these subjects with the teachings of modern science as it would be to undertake to manufacture a like "reconciliation" between the teachings of Homer or the Vedás and modern science.

The weak side of Prof. Winchell's book appears perhaps most distinctly in the author's elaborate and somewhat exultant attempt to explain the genealogical tables of Genesis x. and xi. in harmony with his Preadamic theory. To begin with, he sets down the date of the writing of the first of these tables as probably 2100 B.C., the time of Abraham. But why? Is he not aware that a date so early as that is pure conjecture, with the probabilities all against it? The subtraction of 1200 years, if not of 1600 or 1700, from the number named, would give us more nearly the real date of its compilation. These tables first appear as a part of the celebrated "*Book of Origins*," so that there seems to be no reason for supposing that they existed before the latter part of the captivity; and their origin was probably in Babylon. Prof. Winchell expresses his astonishment at their accuracy; and yet, in order to make them stand historic and ethnologic tests at all, he finds himself obliged to interpret the names Gomer, Magog, Madai, Cush, Mizraim, Elam, Asshur, and the rest of the descendants of Shem, Ham, and Japhet as tribes, and not as persons; and, even when he has got them made into tribes, he is at his wits' end to know what to do with them. As specimens of the difficulties that rise up in his way, he finds two tribes—namely, Havilah and Sheba—put down among the descendants of both Ham and Shem. Canaan and Sidon are both given as descendants of Ham, while all the linguistic evidence we can get goes to show that the Sidonians (Phœnicians) and the Canaanites were both Shemitic. Asshur (who stands for the Assyrian people) is called a son of Shem; and yet Nimrod, a Hamite, is declared to have been the builder of Nineveh and other leading Assyrian cities.

Madai is placed among the descendants of Japhet, and yet the Medes (whom Madai is claimed to mean) were almost certainly not Japhetic. With regard to a large proportion of the names in the tables, Dr. Winchell is unable to determine what tribes or nations they do apply to. And it is especially noticeable that, with all the adjusting he can do, he cannot make the given Japhetic genealogy cover the Hindoos, who are certainly an important part of the Aryan (and if Aryan is synonymous with Japhetic, then of the Japhetic) family. The fact is, an ethnological classification based upon the Genesis genealogies is altogether misleading. It is and has long been a stumbling-block in the way of ethnological science. It has caused ethnic affinities to be asserted which did not exist, and others to be overlooked or denied which really did exist. This has become so clear that already the name Japhetic is rapidly giving place to one far more scientific. The name Hamitic also shows signs of passing away. The term Shemitic (or Semitic) is the only one of the three which seems likely to keep its place in the scientific world. Thus, it appears that the wonderful accuracy of the Genesis tables (as if the correctness of an infallible book ought to be a matter of wonder) is purely a thing of the Professor's imagination. He finds it, because he seeks for it.

But the difficulties which grow out of such an attempt as Prof. Winchell makes to interpret the names in the Genesis tables so as to make them signify tribes, and not individual men, I have pointed out only in part. If these genealogies are of tribes, and not of persons, we shall be obliged to regard Abraham as a tribe, thus making nonsense of the thirteen chapters of Genesis which give the history of his life; and, further, we shall be obliged to regard Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japhet as tribes, and thus we shall have the four tribes of Noah and his sons all saved in the ark, which, to say the least, will considerably add to the already somewhat crowded condition of things in that not particularly capacious structure. But the greatest difficulty in the way of accepting these names as referring to tribes arises from the very plain

and definite nature of the language employed, particularly in the second table (chapter xi.). Here we read, "Shem was an hundred years old, and begat Arphaxad two years after the flood; and Shem lived after he begat Arphaxad five hundred years, and begat sons and daughters. And Arphaxad lived five hundred and thirty years, and begat Salah. And Arphaxad lived after he begat Salah," etc. The record runs on in this same manner from Shem down to Abraham. Could anything be more specific? Moreover, two of the men (or tribes?) mentioned are spoken of as marrying wives. Can we say of a tribe that it marries a wife named Sarai or Milcah?

However, Prof. Winchell's most extended effort is given to explaining tribally the genealogical table not in the tenth or eleventh, but in the *fifth*, chapter of Genesis; and to this, therefore, we must give special attention. He is very sure that he has found a way of interpreting this last-named table so as to lengthen the Biblical chronology, and give us as the time from Adam to the flood seven thousand seven hundred and thirty seven years (instead of the paltry one thousand six hundred and fifty-six years of Usher), and from the flood to the birth of Abraham two thousand seven hundred and sixty-three years (instead of the three hundred and fifty-two of Usher), making the whole time from Adam to Abraham ten thousand five hundred years; at the same time reducing the ages of the patriarchs from eight hundred or nine hundred years each to the reasonable average of one hundred and twenty years. As this is the last, so it may be regarded as the climax of Prof. Winchell's Biblical interpretations. Indeed, he himself tells us that he regards it so important as to form an appropriate close to the main portion of his book. The Bible passage under consideration reads as follows: "And Adam lived an hundred and thirty years, and begat a son in his own likeness, after his image, and called his name Seth. And the days of Adam after he had begotten Seth were eight hundred years; and he begat sons and daughters. And all the days that Adam lived were nine hundred and thirty

years; and he died." A similar paragraph is recorded respecting Seth, Enos, and each of the other antediluvian patriarchs. That I may be sure to represent Prof. Winchell's method of interpretation correctly, I will quote the exact words in which he himself explains it:—

"The word Adam is employed above in a *personal*, and afterward in a *family* sense. The first clause denotes *the whole life* of Adam, and not his age at the birth of Seth. YOLaD, translated 'begat,' signifies rather 'appointed,' and refers to Adam's designation of Seth (in place of Abel) to be his successor. 'Likeness' and 'image' refer, not to personal appearance, but to character and office, the name Seth itself signifying 'The Appointed.' 'Adam,' in the next clause, refers to the *tribe* or *family* of Adam. The Adamic family continued to be ruled over by successors, not in the line of Seth, for a period of nine hundred and thirty years. Thereafter, the representatives of the Sethite line acceded to the kingship for nine hundred and twelve years, when the family of Enos assumed government, and so on. . . . A paraphrase of the passage concerning Adam would therefore read somewhat as follows: And Adam lived a hundred and thirty years. And at the close of his life he appointed his son to be his spiritual heir and successor, and designated him Seth, 'The Appointed.' And the duration of the house of Adam after the appointment of Seth was eight hundred years, represented by male and female descendants. And the whole duration of the house of Adam was nine hundred and thirty years, and he ceased to exist. The paragraphs touching the other antediluvian patriarchs are to be similarly understood."

By this manner of interpretation, as I said, it is claimed that we have the double advantage of a great lengthening of the time from Adam to Abraham, and a shortening of the ages of the individual patriarchs from nigh a thousand years each to an average of only one hundred and twenty years each. But, unfortunately, as we examine a little more closely this very remarkable system of exegesis, we find that, like so many others that have gone before it, it crum-

bles to pieces on being touched. For, aside from the very glaring injustice it does to the plain declarations of the text (worse than interpreting a dog into a pig), it introduces other difficulties far greater than those which it removes. Let us see exactly how.

Adam, the *man*, lives one hundred and thirty years, then dying appoints his son Seth to be his successor, as head of his house. After this event, Adam, the *tribe*, exists for eight hundred years before Seth comes to his inheritance. Thus, the house or dynasty of Adam lasts nine hundred and thirty years in all. Then Seth comes on the stage, and sets up the Sethite house or dynasty. But here we strike a difficulty. Where has Seth been all these eight hundred years while he has been kept from his succession? He cannot have been living, because Prof. Winchell includes, as an essential part of his theory, the supposition that he lived only one hundred and five years. Did he die, and then, after the eight hundred years' reign of the Adamic dynasty, come to life again and set up his own dynasty, which he had been kept so long from inaugurating? Going forward now a step in the genealogical list, and applying the same principle of interpretation to Seth and his line that we have applied to Adam and his, we find that Seth, the man, lived one hundred and five years, and then appointed his son Enos to be his successor. After his death, however, instead of Enos receiving the inheritance at once, the family of Seth continue to be ruled by a king, not in the line of Enos, for eight hundred and seven years; and only after the expiration of those eight hundred and seven years does the man Enos come to the headship, or the dynasty of Enos begin. But, again we ask, how can this man have come to the throne eight hundred and seven years after his father died and left him the succession, when his whole life, according to the theory before us, was only ninety years? Going forward to the next patriarch in the list, and the next and the next, we find the same difficulties arising in the case of every one down to Noah. In other words, according to the improved plan of interpretation of Prof. Winchell, we have in the tables

before us not only a list of *individual* lives, but a list of *dynasties*: the first dynasty founded by Adam, the second by Seth, the third by Enos, the fourth by Cainan, ten in all, down to the flood; and all these dynasties successive, none overlapping each other, but the second beginning where the first ended, the third where the second ended, and so on. Now, these dynasties last through a *total of seven thousand seven hundred and thirty-seven years*. But they were *founded by ten men who form an unbroken genealogical line of father, son, grandson, and thus on, the sum of whose individual ages is only one thousand six hundred and fifty-six years*. Will Dr. Winchell be so good as to explain how that could be? The discrepancy may not be so obvious at first sight, but, a little careful looking will show that there is a very serious discrepancy here. It is of much the same nature as if I should say that of two roads, which must necessarily be of the same length, one is seven thousand seven hundred and thirty-seven miles long, and the other one thousand six hundred and fifty-six miles long. Finally, it may be interesting to notice, as one of the minor results of the plan of interpretation under consideration, that it relieves us from having to talk any more about *Noah's* flood. If we follow Winchell, Noah had no connection with the flood. He was five hundred years old, according to the Genesis account, when he begat Shem, Ham, and Japhet. According to the new interpretation, this means that he was five hundred years old when he appointed Shem, Ham, and Japhet his successors, and died. But the Genesis account goes on to state that the flood did not come until Noah was six hundred years old; that is to say, Noah had been dead one hundred years (or if the last-mentioned Noah in the Genesis story means Noah, the *tribe*, then Noah, the *man*, had been dead *six hundred years*) when the flood arrived.

I need not trace further the results to which this very extraordinary theory leads. My only excuse for giving so much space to it as I have is the fact that it has been put forth with prominence and confidence by an eminent writer

in what, taken all in all, is perhaps as able a book as has ever been contributed to that vast mass of literature whose aim is to reconcile the Bible and science. Prof. Winchell's Biblical interpretation, taken as a whole, is better than is common to writers on this class of subjects; yet we can only express again our astonishment that a man accustomed to the accurate methods of science, as Prof. Winchell is, could have put forth, as sound exegesis, such vagaries as many of his interpretations of Scripture are. To be sure, his method of interpreting the Genesis tables, which we have been considering, he borrows from one Rev. T. P. Crawford; but he makes the method virtually his own by introducing it into his book, taking pains to explain it at length, and earnestly commending it to the attention of his readers.

I cannot close this article without expressing regret at what the author says in his chapter xviii., on "Theological Consequences of Preadamitism." He devotes the entire chapter to this subject, and evinces through it all what impresses us as a nervous anxiety lest his book should not be thought theologically orthodox. Moreover, it seems to us that he is hardly ingenuous in claiming for the book that it leaves intact the "Plan of Salvation" and the doctrine of the Divine Inspiration and Authority of the Bible. Of course there is a sense in which it can be urged that the Bible is still a book of divine inspiration and authority, even after we have granted Dr. Winchell's whole theory of Preadamites. But it is a sense other than the ordinary one. By these words, "Divine Authority and Inspiration," applied to the Bible, the theological world understands, and the people at large understand, an infallible book. But, if there is any one thing certain about this volume of Prof. Winchell, it is that no man can accept its teachings with anything like completeness, and any longer consistently hold the Bible to be infallible. Prof. Winchell must be aware of this as well as anybody. And yet he labors to convey to his readers the opposite impression.

Again, he makes a long, though we cannot feel quite sincere, argument to show that Preadamitism does not conflict

with the "Plan of Salvation." Perhaps it does not with any plan of salvation which the Doctor himself believes in. But is he not aware that the "Plan of Salvation," as formulated by the creeds and standard theologians, and as understood by Christendom, is based upon the fall of the race in Adam?

"In Adam's fall
We sinned all"

is the starting-point and foundation of all orthodox theology, whether Calvinist or Arminian. It was because the race was a "fallen" race that a Saviour was needed. And now, when we destroy the doctrine of a fallen race, as we do when we make Adam the progenitor and representative of only one segment of the race, we certainly strike at the very root of the whole idea of "Redemption" as the world has always understood it, and still understands it. That this is felt to be so is shown by the significant fact that the leading orthodox journals of the country are, almost without exception, pronouncing an unfavorable verdict upon Prof. Winchell's book, theologically considered. They clearly recognize the fact that, when it is once admitted that there was neither an Adam nor a Fall, the corner-stone of their theological system, as a system, is gone. When Milton, in the opening lines of *Paradise Lost*, sings

"Of man's first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
Brought death into our world, and all our woe,
With loss of Eden, till one greater man
Restore us, and regain the blissful seat,"

he sings of exactly what the Christian world, for fifteen hundred years, with hardly a dissenting voice, has pronounced the corner-stone of the orthodox system,—the event without which the "Scheme of Redemption" or "Plan of Salvation" has no starting-point or *raison d'être*. To be sure there is a system of Christian truth (and to the present writer it seems much more rational, as well as much more harmonious with the teaching of Jesus than the orthodox

system) which does not rest upon the fall of the race in Adam, and which therefore would be unaffected by the doctrine of Preadamites. But it would be a travesty to call such a system orthodoxy; and indeed no one would more earnestly resent the identification of orthodoxy with such a system than orthodox leaders and authorities themselves. So that, in spite of our author's very ingenious reasoning, we cannot but feel that that part of his book in which he attempts to show his Preadamite theory to be friendly to the current theology is essentially weak. Orthodox writers pronounce it weak. Scientists, and others who write without theological predilections, will be certain to pronounce it weak, if not timid and time-serving.

My task is now finished. I have endeavored in this paper to do two things: first, to give the reader as clear an outline as possible of this, however we regard it, very interesting work of Prof. Winchell; and, second, to commend and criticise where commendation or criticism seem to me deserved. It happens that the features of the book which I have found myself compelled to speak unfavorably of have been noticed last. But I should be very sorry if, on account of this, any reader should carry away from the reading of this article the impression that I have other than high appreciation of the book as a whole. Though I have dwelt somewhat long in my criticisms upon its Biblical exegesis and more strictly theological features, yet let me call attention again to the fact that these form but a minor part of the work, and that, entirely aside from these, the book has a most substantial value. The author's main thesis, in every way an important one, that the world was peopled long before the existence of any person who can possibly be identified with the Biblical Adam, is maintained with an ability and comprehensiveness of treatment that leaves nothing to be desired; while, as I have before said, the work, considered purely as a popular treatise upon ethnology, is one of the very best in the language.



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THE BIBLE.

PASSAGES FROM VARIOUS AUTHORS SELECTED BY MRS. ELIZA R. SUNDERLAND.

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POETS' THOUGHTS ABOUT THE BIBLE.

Out from the heart of nature rolled
The burdens of the Bible old;
The litanies of nations came,
Like the volcano's tongue of flame,
Up from the burning core below,—
The canticles of love and woe. . .

The word unto the prophet spoken
Was writ on tables yet unbroken;
The word by seers or sibyls told,
In groves of oak, or fanes of gold,
Still floats upon the morning wind,
Still whispers to the willing mind.
One accent of the Holy Ghost
The heedless world hath never lost.

R. W. Emerson.

In holy books we read how God hath
spoken
To holy men in many different ways;

But hath the present worked no sign nor
token?

Is God quite silent in these latter days?

The word were but a blank, a hollow
sound,

If He that spoke it were not speaking
still;

If all the light and all the shade around
Were aught but issues of Almighty Will.

Hartley Coleridge.

We search the world for truth: we cull
The good, the pure, the beautiful,
From graven stone and written scroll,
From all old flower-fields of the soul;
And, weary seekers of the best,
We come back laden from our quest,
To find that all the sages said,
Is in the Book our mothers read.

J. G. Whittier.

THE BIBLE AS LITERATURE.

I have always been strongly in favor of secular education, in the sense of education without theology; but I must confess I have been no less seriously perplexed to know by what practical measures the religious feeling, which is the essential basis of conduct, was to be kept up, in the present utterly chaotic state of opinion in these matters, without the use of the Bible. The pagan moralists lack life and color; and even the noble Stoic, Marcus Antoninus, is too high and refined for an ordinary child. Take the Bible as a whole; make the severest deduction which fair criticism can dictate for shortcomings and positive errors; eliminate, as a sensible lay-teacher would do, if left to himself, all that is not desirable for children to occupy themselves with,—and there still remains in this old literature a vast residuum of moral grandeur. And then consider the great historical fact that for three centuries this book has been woven into the life of all that is best and noblest in English history; that it has become the national epic of Britain, and is familiar to noble and simple, from John O'Groat's to Land's End, as Dante and Tasso were once to the Italians; that it is written in the noblest and purest English, and abounds in exquisite beauties of a merely literary form; and, finally, that it forbids the veriest hind, who never left his village, to be ignorant of the existence of other countries and other civilizations, and of a great past, stretching back to the furthest limits of the oldest nations in the world. By the study of what other books could children be so much humanized, and made to feel that each figure in that vast historical procession fills, like themselves, but a momentary space in the interval between the two eternities?

Prof. T. H. Huxley.

Only one literature there is, one great literature, for which the people have had a preparation,—the literature of the Bible. However far they may be from having a complete preparation for it, they have some; and it is the only great literature for which they have any. Their bringing up, what they have heard and talked

of ever since they were born, have given them no sort of conversance with forms, fashions, notions, wordings, allusions, of literature having its source in Greece and Rome; but they have given them a good deal of conversance with forms, fashions, notions, wordings, allusions, of the Bible. Zion and Babylon are their Athens and Rome, their Ida and Olympus are Tabor and Hermon, Sharad is their Tempe; these and the like Bible names can reach their imagination, kindle trains of thought and remembrance in them. The elements with which the literature of Greece and Rome conjures, have no power on them; the elements with which the literature of the Bible conjures, have. If poetry, philosophy, and eloquence, if what we call in one word *letters*, are a power, and a beneficent wonder-working power, in education through the Bible only have the people much chance of getting at poetry, philosophy, and eloquence. Chords of power are touched by this instruction which is another part of the instruction in a popular school reaches, and chords various, not the single religious chord only. The Bible is for the child in an elementary school almost his only contact with poetry and philosophy.

Matthew Arnold.

The New Testament will doubtless experience what has already happened to the Old; elements and scenery in it which are gradually withdrawn from literary acceptance and authoritative use, will pass into symbols of some truth and sanctification beyond themselves, and help the imagination to give form and color to spiritual things; and as the Egyptian bondage, the desert march, the water from the rock, the promised land, the courts of Zion, the holy of holies, have been lifted into emblems of the pilgrimage of man and the providence of God; so the baptism, the dove, the temptation, the calming of the storm, the transfiguration, the Christ crucified, the Christ glorified, notwithstanding inequalities in their historic certainty, will retain their significance for the inward life, painting the crises of the drama and the transcendency of its vision.

tory. More and more of the modern Christian hymns do but touch for a moment the ground of historical incident, and pass on at once to some spiritual counterpart which is the real theme of the poet's inspiration. This gradual expansion of the original sources of Christian conception to embrace the new thought and larger sentiment which they themselves have been instrumental in creating, is the natural method of evolving the future from the past.

James Martineau.

The most original book in the world is the Bible. . . . It is in the nature of things that the highest originality must be moral. . . . People imagine that the place which the Bible holds in the world it owes to miracles. It owes it simply to the fact that it came out of a profounder depth of thought than any other book.

R. W. Emerson. (From the "Dial", 1840.)

De Quincey classified all writings as belonging either to the literature of knowledge, or the literature of power. There are books to which we go for information. They give us facts and ideas. They constitute the literature of knowledge. They

teach us. Then there are books to which we go for inspiration; to which we turn for joy and pleasure, for strength and courage, for patience and endurance, for purity and peace. They constitute the literature of power. They move us. Herbert Spencer's books belong to the literature of knowledge. The "Imitation of Christ" belongs to the literature of power. The literature of knowledge needs to be reissued every century or generation or decade, corrected up to date. The literature of power is immortal; fresh to-day, though born millenniums ago.

In the literature of power the Bible ranks first. Whatever in Christian literature has most searching ethical and spiritual energy radiates the reflected light of the Bible: Augustine's "Confessions", "The Imitation of Christ", Fenelon's "Spiritual Letters", "The Saint's Rest", the "Pilgrim's Progress", in their most appealing tones echo the voices of the Bible. The Bible holds stored the ethical electricity from which Christendom has drawn, through centuries, exhaustless energy.

R. Heber Newton.

SEVEN VALUES OF THE BIBLE.

In what does the value of the Bible consist? Why should we, living in this late day—in times and circumstances of life so far removed from those of the Bible, and enjoying so much greater intellectual light than the men who wrote it enjoyed, continue to read it, and study it, and give it a place of honor among our books of religion?

(1) Portions of the Bible, at least, have confessedly a high literary value. There is no lack of authorities who rank some of the Psalms with the lyrics of Pindar and Wordsworth; the book of Job with the tragedies of Sophocles and Shakespeare; the prophecy of Isaiah and the Epistle to the Romans with any religious or ethical writing in the world. The first translation of the Bible into the vernacular was made so early, and so soon thereafter it became so emphatically the one great book of the people, that it has ex-

erted an influence in moulding the English language and English literature vastly greater than any other book. Probably quite nine scholars out of ten, of those best qualified to judge, if called upon to select the best model in the language, of simple, terse, vigorous, and at the same time elegant English, would choose the Bible, in our common translation.

(2) The Bible occupies a far more central and important place in European and American civilization than any other book. Indeed it is doubtful if a man voyaging through our modern Christendom as a student of its history, its literature, its philosophy, its art, its politics, its institutions, would find himself so much inconvenienced by being unacquainted with Homer, Plato, Virgil, Cicero, Dante, and enough others to make a good dozen of the greatest writers of the world, outside

of the Bible, as he would by being unacquainted with the single volume of our sacred Scriptures.

(3) We have in the Bible a far more vivid and impressive picture than can be found anywhere else in literature, of what I may call the *evolution of religion and morals* on a large scale. The Bible presents us with the literary memorials of the growth of the people of Israel, through ten or twelve centuries of varied and wonderful history, from ideas of God and worship and morality that were at best very low and poor, up into such ideas as those taught by Jesus, which are confessed to stand in the front rank of the loftiest religious and ethical teachings of the world.

(4) The Bible is the parent of monotheism in the world so far as a book can be. It is worthy of note that the three great monotheistic religions all send back their roots directly or indirectly into our Scriptures,—Judaism and Christianity directly, and Mohammedanism indirectly.

(5) The Bible is a book of practical religion, and it is not until we come to study it in this light that we approach its highest value. With all its imperfections, it must still be confessed to be, on the whole, a book of unequalled moral earnestness, incitement, inspiration. With an iteration and reiteration that is untiring, and with an emphasis that is sometimes fairly tremendous, do all the great writers of the Bible impress upon us the grandeur of the moral side of life,—the importance of justice, truth, mercy, but

especially righteousness in human conduct. A body of men of deeper moral earnestness, or more brave and loyal to what they believe to be true and right in religion, perhaps the world never saw, than were the Old Testament prophets. Bigots sometimes; true children of a rude age, some of them; occupying very different planes, morally and spiritually, as well as intellectually and socially,—they yet, as a whole, were grand men, whose words are even to-day moral bugle-calls to the race.

(6) So, too, with regard to all that which we commonly call the spiritual side of life—that side of life which includes love, gratitude, reverence, prayer, hope, faith, aspiration, worship,—it is not too much to say that the world has produced no book which has proved itself so powerful as a help and inspirer of men on this side of their being.

(7) Finally, the Bible is not only our book of religion, but it is a book rich with the very life-blood of all that was highest and holiest in the hopes and fears, the joys and sorrows, the faiths, the prayers, the aspirations and yearnings, of our fathers, and our fathers' fathers, and nearly all the noblest men and saintliest women of all the Christian ages. How much that means, only men's hearts, not their heads, can answer. Surely such a book, with all its shortcomings, may well lay heavy claims upon our love, our appreciation, our reverence.

J. T. Sunderland. (*Compressed from Chapter IV. of "What is the Bible?"*)

THE TWO VIEWS OF THE BIBLE,—LETTER AND SPIRIT.

There are two diametrically opposite views to be taken of the origin, inspiration, and authority of the Bible. One of these I call the theology of the spirit, and the other that of the letter.

I. The theology of the letter says of the Bible that it is "the word of God" in such a sense that every part of it proceeded by direct revelation from God. It is a supernatural revelation of God's truth, containing every thing necessary for the religious life of man; for his happiness here, and his hope hereafter. The writers

were supernaturally and miraculously inspired, so that they could not make any mistake, and have not made any. There are no errors and no contradictions in the Bible. It is infallibly, verbally, literally true from end to end. All between its lids is the word of God. Its geology, astronomy, chronology, are perfect, and leave nothing to be desired. Its great men are all saints to be admired and imitated, their crimes excused and explained away. Its Jewish part and its Christian part are in exact and entire harmony;

and he who questions or denies anything in it is an infidel, who had better have never been born.

This view of the infallibility of the letter of the Bible,—or, as it was once called, its “plenary inspiration”,—is not so very ancient, after all. It came up, in its extreme form, since the Reformation. Tholuck, the German theologian, a scholar highly esteemed in all orthodox circles, tells us, in his essay on Inspiration, that this doctrine arose in the controversy with the Roman Church. The Jesuits said, “We, in our church, have unity, confidence, assurance. We have an outward infallible Church to lean upon,—an outward authority to which all can appeal, an outward judge to decide all questions. You Protestants have no such authority; nothing infallible, nothing sure. You have only your own inward emotions, different opinions, changing moods.” Pressed by this argument, says Tholuck, the Protestants came, by degrees, to maintain that they also had an outward infallible authority, namely, the infallible letter of the Bible; and at last were driven, by the heat of the controversy, to assert that not only the sense of the Bible, but the words, the letters, the Hebrew vowel-points, and the very punctuation, proceeded directly from God; and that the writers of the Bible were merely the amanuenses of the Holy Spirit, the pen with which He wrote, the flute through which He breathed.

Now I will call your attention to the fact that the writers of the Bible lay no claim to any such infallibility as this. They nowhere say that they were inspired to write books. Two texts are quoted to prove this verbal inspiration; and because thus perpetually quoted, we may presume that they are the strongest which can be found. One says: “Holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit.” But it does not say that this made them infallible. Holy men *now* declare that they are moved by the Holy Spirit; but they do not profess to be infallible. The other text says that “All scripture is given by inspiration, and is profitable for doctrine, instruction”, etc. Yes, profitable or useful, but that is surely not the same thing as infallible author-

ity. These texts teach an inspiration which I also gladly accept; they do not limit inspiration to the Jews or to the Bible; they teach that all holy men and all sacred books come from God, and have more or less of his truth and power and goodness in them. Yes, “all scripture is given by inspiration”; the scriptures of every race and every land; every sacred book which has tamed man’s pride, taught him to look up and adore, instructed him to be just, humane, true, and generous. No such books come wholly from the will of man; there is a divine element in them all, whether they are the Vedas of India, or the Koran, or the Dialogues of Plato, or Wordsworth’s Ode to Immortality. For “Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights.”

There are many serious objections to this doctrine of the infallible inspiration of the Bible, some of which I will now mention.

To say that every statement in the Bible comes directly from God produces widespread unbelief. The Bible says that the world was created in six days; that, by the genealogies from Adam to Abraham, and Abraham to Christ, it was created less than six thousand years ago; that the sun, moon, and stars were all created at that time; that the visible universe, as well as the human race, has, therefore, existed only during that period. But geology shows us by infallible documents, written on tables of stone, that the life of the earth, with that of innumerable plants and animals, goes back for millions of years; and astronomy proves that the light which we receive to-day from some distant stars left them hundreds of thousands of years ago.

Again, students of the Old and New Testaments find many contradictions between different books. These contradictions are of no consequence at all unless we adopt this theory of the infallibility of the record, and then they become fatal.

Again, how many superstitions and cruelties have been sanctified by appeals to the letter of the Scriptures! During many centuries, thousands of poor wretches were burned alive as witches, and this

belief rested on the universal conviction of Catholics and Protestants that the Bible clearly taught the reality of witchcraft. So, in our day, we have seen slavery defended, and despotism defended, by the letter of the Bible. Because Paul said, "Slaves, obey your masters", and, "The powers that be are ordained of God", it was thought that God commanded men by Paul to submit to a despot like Nero, and ordered them to support a system which made of human beings chattels. So, too, to-day, single words of the Bible are quoted to defend the doctrine that God has made creatures certain to fall into sin, and then punishes them for that sin with endless torments.

This view of the Scriptures has also brought about a confusion of Judaism and Christianity. The Old Testament, in some minds, has more authority than the New. Men still keep the Jewish Sabbath which Christianity abolished. The sacrificial worship of the Jews, by which, from morning till evening, the great altar of the Temple ran with blood, has indeed been long abolished. But the influence of that system continues in the Catholic Church in the daily sacrifice of the Mass, and in the Protestant Church in the blood theology which teaches that God is unable to forgive sin except by bloodshed, and that by the blood of an innocent victim. The Apostles, who were Jews, accustomed to these perpetual sacrifices of the Temple, naturally said, "Christ is our sacrifice." "He is our sin offering." "It is his blood, not that of goats and sheep, which saves us." And so, literal theology builds on these natural Jewish expressions a whole theory of substituted suffering and vicarious sacrifice. Thus is the progress of thought arrested; thus is unbelief created; thus are we sent back from Christ to Moses by this Christian literalism.

But the chief objection to all this doctrine of the verbal infallibility of the whole Bible is, that the spirit is chained down by the letter; that the living power of the words and soul of Jesus are neutralized and nullified by being tied to the dead body of old traditions which have long since lost their power.

II. The theology of the spirit rises above

all this level waste of dreary controversy. It regards the Bible as inspired, but not infallible; inspired in a higher degree, by the same spirit which has also spoken to men in all the great scriptures of the race. It believes in the authority of the Bible, but it is the authority which truth always has over honest and candid minds.

It does not think it essential to decide when the books of the Bible were written, nor by whom; nor when they were collected and put together in the canon. The books remain the same, whoever wrote them; by giving their author another name you cannot rob them of a single note of power or of love. We are sure that the best books have remained, for they have been guarded by the love of mankind. They are not supernatural in any sense but that in which all our life is overflowed by something from above, all nature filled with a diviner beauty, and by which there is something of God in all the best things said and done by man.

I would believe more in divine inspiration than the old doctrine allows, not less. That teaches an occasional influx from God, coming and then going away; making a few prophets in a certain land and race, but nowhere else. I believe in "the prophets who have been since the world began"; in a God "who has never left himself without a witness in the world"; in a light "which lighteth every man who comes into the world".

I wish the Bible to be more loved and honored than it is now, not less. I wish it more a source of faith and hope than now; to bring us nearer to God than it now does; to make Christ more interesting, and more of a true Teacher, Master, and Friend. The better we understand it, the more shall we revere it; not with a blind homage, but with an intelligent admiration. The more freely that we use our reason, separating the chaff from the wheat, the more will the genuine power and beauty of the Bible be made manifest. God, who has given the Bible, has also given us our reason with which to examine and understand it, and we are guilty before him if we bury this talent in the earth and hide our Lord's money.

James Freeman Clarke. (*From "Unitarian Affirmations",—much compressed.*)

THE BIBLE A BOOK OF MAN, BY MAN, FOR MAN.

View it in what light we may, the Bible is a very surprising phenomenon. This collection of books has taken such a hold on the world as no other. The literature of Greece, which goes up like incense from that land of temples and heroic deeds, has not half the influence of this book from a nation alike despised in ancient and modern times. It is read of a Sunday in all the thirty thousand pulpits of our land. In all the temples of Christendom is its voice lifted up, week by week. It goes equally to the cottage of the plain man and the palace of the king. It is woven into the literature of the scholar and colors the talk of the street. It is the better part of our sermons. Our best of uttered prayers are in its storied speech wherewith our fathers and the patriarchs prayed.

Now for such effects there must be an adequate cause. What is the secret cause of this wide and deep influence? It must be found in the Bible itself, and must be adequate to the effect. To answer the question we must examine the Bible, and see whence it comes, what it contains, and by what authority it holds its place.

Laying aside all prejudices, if we look into the Bible in a general way, as into other books, we find facts which force the conclusion upon us that the Bible is a human work, as much as the Principia of Newton or Descartes, or the Vedas and Koran. Some things in it are beautiful and true, but others no man, in his reason, can accept. Here are the works of various writers, from the eleventh century before to the second century after Christ, thrown capriciously together, and united by no common tie but the lids of the book-binder. Here are two forms of religion, which differ widely. We find numerous contradictions; conflicting histories which no skill can reconcile with themselves or with facts; poems which the Christians have agreed to take as histories, but which lead only to confusion on that hypothesis; prophecies that have never been fulfilled, and from the nature of things never can be. We find stories of miracles which could not have happened; accounts which represent the laws of

nature completely transformed, as in fairyland; stories that make God a man of war, cruel, capricious, revengeful, hateful, and not to be trusted. We find amatory songs, selfish proverbs, skeptical discourses, and the most awful imprecations human fancy ever clothed in speech. Connected with these are lofty thoughts of nature, man, and God; devotion touching and beautiful, and a most reverent faith. Here are works whose authors are known; others of which the author, age, and country are alike forgotten. Genuine and spurious works, religious and not religious, are strangely mixed. The one part belongs to a mode of worship, formal and obsolete, the other to a religion, actual, spiritual, still alive. The one gives us a Jehovah, jealous and angry; the other a Father, full of love. The writers contradict one another, and some relate what no testimony can render less than absurd; but yet all taken together, spite of their imperfections and positive faults, form such a collection of religious writings as the world never saw,—so deep, so divine.

Now, unless we reject this treasure entirely, one of two things must be done: either we must pretend to believe the whole, absurdities and all, make one part just as valuable as the other, the law of Moses as the gospel of Jesus, David's curse as Christ's blessing,—and then we make the Bible our master, who puts common sense and reason to silence, and drives conscience and the religious element out of the church; or else we must accept what is true, good, and divine therein,—take each part for what it is worth, gather the good together, and leave the bad to itself,—and then we make the Bible our servant and helper, who assists common-sense and reason, stimulates conscience and religion, co-working with them all. A third thing is not possible.

Which shall be done? The practical answer was given long ago. Pious men neglect what does not edify. Men cannot gather grapes of thorns, grasp they never so lovingly; honest men will leave the thorns, or pluck them up. Now criticism,

said of the New Testament, of the truth that rustles in its leaves, its parables, its epistles, where Paul lifts up his voice, and John, or whose words, pours out the mystic melody of faith. Why tell the deep words of J. Have we exhausted their meaning? world—has it outgrown love to God man? They still act in gentle, giving strength to the strong, and in meekness and charity and faith beautiful souls, long tried and oppressed. There is no need of new words to tell this.

Call the Bible master, we do not see excellence it has. Take it as other books we have its beauty, truth, religion, no deformities, fables, and theology. truths not only sustain themselves, the mass of errors connected there Truth can never pass away.

Men sometimes fear the Bible will be destroyed by freedom of thought and freedom of speech. Let it perish if be the case. Truth cannot fear the living water. All the free-thinking in the world could not destroy the Bible; much less the truths of the Bible! the Bible is made for man, not man the Bible. Its truths are old as creation repeated more or less purely in the tongue. They came from God through the soul of man. They have exhausted neither God nor the soul. Man is greater than the Bible.

Theodore Parker. (Much compressed from "Bible" chapters in his "Discourses of Religion" printed also in the volume of selections his "Views of Religion.")

THE EVOLUTION OF THE SOUL.

every drop brings forth a flower. theories of the nature of the sun may be multiplied, but the sun shines on and warms. All theories respecting the structure of the I may be mooted and disputed, but the tree whose fruits rise higher, and are more flavorful, than any or all others have ever been produced upon the human life. The Bible is the record of the progressive unfolding of knowledge.

edge in respect to social and spiritual things through vast ages. And the inspiration of God consisted in that impulse of natural law, of social institution, of reflection, of experiment, and of findings-out of life, and a record of it by men competent to understand and give it the largest form. They were men above their day, able to concentrate in their own consciousness the meaning of all these things that had been gradually found out by the myriad of men, and give them authentic form. . . .

As to the fear of losing the Bible, there will remain its characteristics—love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness. Does anybody want with miscreant club to brain *that* Bible? and if that is the meaning of sacred Scripture, who wants to destroy it? But when men, uninstructed, attempt to work in as a part of the testimony of God the things that are but the record of human weaknesses and human misunderstandings, then we set the world agog, and then there are opportunities for men most active and successful in that [destroying work,] because to a large extent they have the truth with them. . . . Should I, if I had stood upon the Acropolis, and discovered that there were spiders in the great temple, or that there was a leak in the roof, or that there was dust settled upon the cornices, blow up the building because I saw these specks in it? Yet there are men going about the country with witty

eloquence deriding this grandest collection of the evolutions of human consciousness towards the highest ideal. They have no conception of the grandeur of this movement, nor of the grandeur of its results. . . . What if there be anachronisms in the Bible? What does that amount to? What if there should be mistakes in dates, stumblings of good men, worn out and wasted customs still embalmed? What if there should be imperfect laws permitted? What if the dust and the detritus of wretched peoples and corrupt ages should still be found here and there in the Bible? They are but fleeting elements, and have their use in marking the stages of development by which the human intelligence rose from darkness into relative light, and the conscience from being soiled into relative purity, and the higher faith, being born, gathered to itself treasure of riches. The Bible is not a book set down and written as John Milton wrote "*Paradise Lost*", nor is it a book written as a man writes a history. It is not a book; it is a series of books with intervals of hundreds of years between. It is the record of the progress of the human race in their development into the divine idea through the medium of right-living themselves. It is the serial history of the construction of the noblest elements that belong to human consciousness.

Henry Ward Beecher. (From "*Seven Sermons on Evolution and Religion*".)

THE INSPIRATION IN, AND BEYOND, ALL BIBLES.

There is a Divine Being back of nature and within man; the Life and Soul of all existence; the Intelligence thinking out its laws; the Will energizing its forces. All life of nature opens back into this Divine Being. All life of man opens, within, into God. Every stream of life leads up into the one Spring and Fount of Being. There is a natural connection open between the soul of man and the Divine Spirit. The stream's bed may be clogged with the debris of life, the fountain-head of the divine in man may be choked, until there seems to be no longer any up-flowing life of God in the human

soul. But it is only needful that the stream-bed shall be opened, that the sands shall be cleared in the mouth of the spring, to find the water of life flow once more, fresh, free, and full as the tides of the Eternal Being. God *can* speak to man. God *must* speak to man, somewhere, somehow, sometime. The Father cannot leave his child without guidance, counsel, help. . . . God *does* in reality speak to man, *in man*. He speaks to every child of earth through the deep essential voices of his own nature: through the voice of affection, pure and sweet; the voice of reason, clear and calm; the voice

of conscience, high and holy; the voice of the will, strong and commanding. The breath of life which heaves the heart, the mind, the conscience, and the will, is none other than the breath of the Spirit in whom "we live and move and have our being". . . .

Human progress is always from the concrete to the abstract, from the particular to the general, from an isolated fact to the sweep of a law. Thus, the reality of the divine inspiration has been gradually expanding on the human consciousness, until that which was at first found on certain spots of earth, at certain times of history, amid certain privileged races, within certain narrow spheres of thought and action, is seen to be a reality of all the earth, of all races, of all time, of all men, of all truth and life.

I. The first step of this education of man into the full doctrine of Inspiration, as far as our own religion is concerned, was the belief which our fathers held so strenuously, and which we, their children, ought to hold just as strenuously,—the belief that our sacred books hold the words of men who themselves were inspired of God. "God speaks in the Bible." Thus said our forefathers, out of the depth of a true spiritual consciousness. Mark well the limitation of this statement. We may not say, as our fathers would have said, that the whole collection of writings which make up the Bible are the words of inspired men; that all these writings, in all their parts, breathe the spirit of God; or that those writers who do breathe as from the Divine Spirit within them are all equally God-breathed. Concerning these distinctions, judgment may be briefly expressed in words which I have used before: "Wherever there is a flash of light, spiritual or ethical; wherever the dark problems of man's origin and nature and destiny grow luminous; wherever the being and personality and character of God come forth from the darkness, thrilling us with a fresh sense of worship, with higher faith and hope and love,—there is a real revelation to our spirits of truths which were unveiled ages ago in the consciousness of Hebrew saints and seers. Such revelation was an inspiration, real and true; a deep

breathing in the spirit of man by the Spirit of God."

With a rapidity which is simply astonishing, thoughtful minds in all the Churches are coming to make the distinction in which lies all hope for the future reverence of the Bible; and the battle of a reasonable faith is well-nigh won. But, when all has been yielded to the human character of these writings which criticism, scholarship, a sound reason, a true conscience, and a sober common sense demand, . . . you and I may be just as sure as were our fathers, who saw none of the difficulties surrounding us, that here at least we hold a book in which the very voice of God echoes down upon our souls: that, through it, we hear words which are even to this day charged with the awful tones of the Eternal Spirit. How would the faith in the reality of a divine inspiration have been kept alive through those wastes of time in which men have heard so few whispers of the Eternal, but for this book to which they could always turn, and feel sure that in its words, so awful yet so tender, so simple though so majestic, so searching while so comforting, they were hearkening to the very voice of God, sure by the soul's unerring instinct that here were the tones of the heavenly Father?

II. The second step in our progress into the true doctrine of Inspiration is the recognition that there is a divine inspiration in *other* sacred books than our own. Other peoples, as our fathers knew, have had their sacred books, revered by them with a devoutness in no wise surpassed by our feelings toward the Bible. In the absence of any first-hand knowledge of those books, it was easy for our fathers to deny to them the claim of inspiration. . . .

(Noble passages omitted here.)

Have we not reached far enough in our knowledge of God to see that, were he to reveal himself to any one race alone, leaving the rest of mankind, in their gropings after light upon the dark problem of earth and in their struggle with sin, without the light and warmth of truth, he could not be God?

"So welcome I from every source
The tokens of that Primal Force
Older than heaven itself, yet new
As the young heart it reaches to,
Beneath whose steady impulse rolls
The tidal wave of human souls,—
Guide, Comforter, and Inward Word,
The Eternal Spirit of the Lord."

III. We take another step upward in the true idea of Inspiration. God has spoken, we say, to the ancients. Of that we are sure. "Holy men of *old* spake as they were moved of the Holy Ghost." God has spoken, we are at last ready to admit, to other holy men of old than those of Hebrew blood. But—so our fathers would have said—God does not *now* speak to men as he did of old. . . .

We affirm that God *liveth*; that he is thinking and working, that he *still* speaketh; that in the souls of men, now as then, is to be heard the whispers of the still, small voice; that within the holy place is to be felt the breath of the Spirit, Infinite and Eternal:—

"God is not dumb, that he should speak
no more;
If thou hast wanderings in the wilderness,
And find'st not Sinai, 'tis thy soul is poor;
There towers the mountain of the Voice
no less,
Which whoso seeks shall find; but he who
bends,
Intent on manna still and mortal ends,
Sees it not, neither hears its thundered
lore."

IV. One other step remains for us, in tracing the climb of thought by which man has risen to the vision of the Divine Inspiration in which we rejoice to-day, beholding it overflow into *all spheres of rightful human thought and action*. . . . There is no line that can be drawn around the sphere of the divine action. You cannot shut the Most High up to any petty provincialisms. You cannot find work enough for the Infinite Spirit in your parish guilds. You cannot keep God out of his own world. He claims all the varied fields of his own creation as the spheres for his Spirit's action. All lines

of true human thought and work focus in religion. Every faculty bourgeons into worship. Every knowledge and every power forms a step in the great world's "altar stairs" that "slope through darkness up to God." Men of business, physicians, inventors, political economists, statesmen, novelists, dramatists, painters, musicians,—all may feel the inbreathing of the Divine Spirit, all may be most truly inspired. Our old Bible, bolder far than the timid men who laud it so highly, dared to say [something like this] long, long ago. . . .

Thus, we climb, through the successive stages of the development of man's consciousness of Inspiration,—through a belief in the inspiration of the men who wrote in *our* Bible, of the men who wrote in the *other* bibles of humanity, of the saints of *all times*, of the men who, in *every sphere of life*, seek truth and do their fellows service,—to the full thought of an inspiration of God within man, in all lands, all ages, and all activities of mind. In every great thought and in every noble feeling which breathes our souls out to larger life there is the breath of the Infinite Spirit of Truth, of Beauty, and of Goodness,—the Spirit in whom "we live, and move, and have our being." You and I may be inspired. You and I *are* inspired, daily, though we know it not,—conscious of no solemnity, as of a divine presence; catching no whispers of the Spirit in the aspirations which swell within our minds and hearts and consciences; feeling not the throbs of God in the energy which moves us to be up and doing worthily. . . . How lofty life becomes in this sense of the divine inspirations! How full of sacred dignity our daily tasks! How responsible the powers concerning whose employ we had thought so lightly! How solemn grows that easy stifling of intellectual convictions, of conscientious impulses, and of spiritual aspirations which now loom through "the abysmal depths of personality" into that awful sin against which Paul lifted up his warning voice,—"Quench not the Spirit!"

R. Heber Newton.—(From a sermon on "Inspiration".)

HOW TO BUY A BIBLE, AND HOW TO READ IT WITH THE CHILDREN.

Buy a Bible, my brothers! The current coin of the land, in the shops of our best booksellers, may have failed to buy for you a real Bible. No noble book is ever to be made your own in this easy-fashion. Ruskin tells us that the great picture will not give itself to us unless we give ourselves to it. The Bible must have its price. The best comes dearest. If you will not pay, you cannot buy. Pay for the real Bible your costliest offering of mind and heart. Spend upon it, day by day, your careful, reverent study, until beneath your love the Book warms into life; and, having proven well your loyalty, this teacher of the soul opens its soul to you and whispers—Henceforth I call you not servant but friend. Wait in these courts until the Eternal Wisdom, who walks within this temple, turns her face upon you, "mystic, wonderful"; and the common places grow refulgent with a new and heavenly beauty, and you humbly say,--This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.

Thus buying Bibles for yourselves, my friends, see that your children buy themselves the Bible in the same good coin. Do not hesitate to read with them these stories of the ancients because there may be the commingling of legend with history, of myth with fact. The Spirit of Holiness breathing through these tales will inspire the souls of the children, without restraint from the questions that the reason may raise. Tell them no lies if they ask you questions. Read these ancient stories as stories, of good and noble men; stories written down long ago, and told from father to son through longer ages before they were thus written out. Leave the children to detect the legendary elements. I find them quick enough at that work without parental help. The bright child

feels the unreal in the tales that he most loves, but he loves them none the less, perhaps all the more, because of the spell upon his imagination that he would not break; while through them, upon his open soul, streams in the holy power of these sacred stories. Do you concern yourselves with impressing the moral of these God-breathed tales.

Read with your children the stories of the dear Master, and make his life grow real to them, till he shall draw them after him in the steps of his most holy life. . . . The best safeguard against bad taste in literature or life is the formation of a good taste. These Bible-books are books to learn to love which is the making of a man.

Train the children to commit to memory the choicest passages of the Bible. John Ruskin doubtless at the time rebelled against the strict rule of his good aunt, which kept him busy on the Sundays memorizing the Scriptures; but he owns himself thankful now for the discipline which stored his mind with their creative words. What a treasury of holy thoughts and influences does he carry within him, who has written on his mind such passages as the nineteenth, twenty-third, ninety-first, one hundred and third, and one hundred and thirty-ninth Psalms; the third and eighth chapters of Proverbs; the fortieth chapter of Isaiah; the Sermon on the Mount, the parable of the Prodigal Son, and the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians! In the stress and strain of conflict, when the air is dimmed with the dust of the contending forces and the vision grows confused, it is a saving sound to hear the ringing call of Duty, from the hills where One watcheth over the battlefield.

R. Heber Newton. (Compressed from Chapter VII. of his "Right and Wrong Uses of the Bible".)

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 1997 Buick Wildcat,

The weather is so warm. The
 flowers are so sweet and strong.
 The sky is so blue and bright.
 The sun is so warm and bright.
 The birds are so happy and free.
 The world is so full of life and cheer.
 The summer is so beautiful and true.
 The weather is so warm and true.

That we are happy and contented
 For minute and day;
 They suffer and they sometimes
 Are all in all to me;
 There are they sometimes sad
 From infant tears of grief;
 There are our mothers and grand
 We must live for them.

John W. Clegg

Datura stramonium et al.; see the text

man's life was a miracle, and all that a man doth, and he knew that this daily miracle shines as the character ascends. But the word Miracle, as pronounced by Christian churches, gives a false impression; it is Monster. It is not one with the blowing clover and the falling rain. . .

God is one and omnipresent; here or nowhere is the whole fact. The one miracle which God works evermore is in Nature, and imparting himself to the mind. When we ask simply, "What is true in thought? what is just in action?" it is the yielding of the private heart to the Divine mind, and all personal preferences, and all requiring of wonders, are profane.

The word miracle, as it is used, only indicates the ignorance of the devotee, staring with wonder to see water turned into wine, and heedless of the stupendous fact of his own personality. Here he stands,—a lonely thought, harmoniously organized into correspondence with the universe of mind and matter. What narrative of wonders coming down from a

thousand years ought to charm his attention like this? . . .

You are really interested in your thought. You have meditated in silent wonder on your existence in this world. You have perceived in the first fact of your conscious life here a miracle so astounding—a miracle comprehending all the universe of miracles to which your intelligent life gives you access—as to exhaust wonder, and leave you no need of hunting here or there for any particular exhibitions of power. Then up comes a man with a text of 1 John v. 7, or a knotty sentence from St. Paul, which he considers as the axe at the root of your tree. You cannot bring yourself to care for it. You say: "Cut away; my tree is Ygdrasil—the tree of life." He interrupts for the moment your peaceful trust in the Divine Providence. Let him know by your security that your conviction is clear and sufficient, and if he were Paul himself, you also are here, and with your Creator.

Ralph Waldo Emerson.

A SCIENTIFIC METHOD OF DEALING WITH MIRACLES.

A scientific theology has to do with facts of the religious consciousness and facts of religious history. The laws it has to investigate are the laws of life as they bear on character and conduct. . . But, at the very outset, we come upon a wide field of disputed facts,—the so-called supernatural. On the received principles of natural science, what are we to do with these? Religious history is too full of them to let us pass them by. Our methods of historical criticism are exposed to their sharpest test in dealing with them. Miracles meet us on the threshold of our inquiry; and one of our first tasks must be to get as clearly before our minds as we can the principles of dealing with them intelligently. Let us begin by noticing one or two contrasts that follow from the difference in the subject-matter between theology and science, as that term is commonly applied.

Science assumes as its postulate or ideal, that every group of facts supposably may be, and in time probably will be, reduced within the domain of natural

law,—that is, within that orderly succession of events whose antecedents or successions we can intelligently follow and at length predict. Theology assumes as its postulate or ideal, that everything at bottom proceeds from living intelligent, personal force, and sees in any given event an exhibition of that force. Theology deals, in short, with Persons as science with Things. Science has the advantage of showing how a great multitude of facts, once thought to be ultimate (that is to say, super-natural), have been reduced to regular order and succession, grouped and classified, so that the course of them can be predicted or intelligently controlled. Theology has the advantage, as soon as we come to deal with the motives and acts of intelligent beings and with all the higher manifestations of life, that its theories come closer to our notions of originating force. Science does not pretend to know anything about the origin of existing things; and if we attempt to account for that at all, an intelligent Will (as Comte said) is at least as rational and

easy a way as any other. Neither has science ever succeeded in reconciling it to the common consciousness of men, that our voluntary acts come within the uniform and necessary sequence of natural law; such words as virtue and crime, right and wrong—belonging in peculiar to the theological domain—always presume the fact of personal responsibility and moral freedom.

In short, we have the two great realms of Law and Will, of necessity and liberty, of natural event and human character, subsisting side by side, and absolutely irreducible either of them to the other. Speaking strictly, a free act is just as much a miracle as the creation of a world; and, excepting a free act,—that is, an act of intelligent will, such as we are conscious of at any moment,—there is no other miracle.

Now, just how far the province of will, human or divine, extends into the field of action or history, it is not for any man to dogmatize. Most of us would admit that an intelligent act was required, at any rate, to start the human race on its course, and to appoint the Law which has guided its evolution. To some of us—perhaps more and more, the more we reflect upon it—it will appear not unlikely that a living influence, a pressure (so to speak) like that of the atmosphere, is felt in human affairs, acting everywhere and always, but especially through minds of certain peculiar capacities and gifts; and that this influence (which must be allowed for just as we allow for the pressure of the atmosphere in mechanics) is from a sphere outside the will or the conscious intelligence of man. It is not a thing to dogmatize about; and its laws, supposing it to work by law, do not seem very likely to come within the range of our mental science. Still, in speaking of it, we should bear in mind that we are speaking of nothing contra-natural or abnormal, but of what comes into the same order of fact as the evolution of a planet, or the simplest act of volition.

Here, then, is the point to which we are led. All that we call miraculous and supernatural, the whole province of revelation and inspiration, lies, as all history

does, in this field, which belongs alike to science and to theology; to one as the exponent of Law, and to the other as the asserter of Will. The question between them is simply how far the province of will, or personal force, can enter upon and control the domain of law, or natural sequence. If we say, never, and not at all, we assert a mere dogmatic fatalism, which is not only incapable of proof, but is in violent contradiction to our moral consciousness. If we say it may enter, ever so little way, by the original act of the Creator, or by the free lifting of a hand, then we waive all dogmatic *a priori* denial of the possibility of miracle and revelation; and it only remains to us to inquire, as accurately as we can, what is the real fact covered by those words. . . .

Two needless difficulties have been introduced by modern defenders of miracles. The first is the view which sees in them manifestations, or invasions, of a higher realm of Law, overriding and controlling those lower ranges of law with which we are familiar. This needless concession to the terminology of science is dispensed with by taking the simpler definition of a miracle, as an act of Will under conditions exceptional and imperfectly understood, particularly when those conditions have to do with man's nervous or psychical organization. The *conditions*, here as elsewhere, are defined by law; but the *act of will* is in its nature (so far as it reaches) the overruling of law. What is law, after all, except an *observed sequence of phenomena*? If there is any force behind it, that force is quite as likely to be intelligent and free as otherwise.

The other difficulty is the assumption, often silently made, that the exception which makes the miracle is to be allowed in a single class of miracles only,—those of the Bible, which are involved in a particular theological scheme. Thus the hardest and most disputed point in the problem is put in front, to be met first. It is evident, on the contrary, that the true method would be to take the *easiest* and *nearest* first,—to decide, if possible, on the alleged miracles of our own time; to examine testimony from other parts of the historic field; and thus to secure in

advance the canons of evidence by which the miracles of Scripture may be brought under scientific tests.

I will not speak here of the great field [for the study of miracles] that is opened by the study of comparative religions, but only of what belongs directly to the history and development of Christianity itself. Its earliest defenders (as Justin) admitted the reality of pagan oracles and miracles, which they ascribed to evil demons; its later advocates—conspicuously Augustine and Gregory of Tours,—testify in the most detailed and explicit way to miracles of healing and of raising from the dead, in their own experience, and by powers directly conferred on Christian believers. The testimony of these dignified and important eye-witnesses is very different from the innumerable miraculous legends that swarm in ecclesiastical chronicles and lives of the saints.

Catholic believers, however, have always asserted that their Church retained its wonder-working power. And no evidence in history appears to be plainer, more explicit, or more respectable, than what comes to us daily of works of healing, or the like, quite outside any known scientific method, and which can be ascribed only to the exertion of the will under special conditions; that is, they come under any definition of miracle which can be intelligently framed. All these make part of the field open to scientific exploration.

I do not say, all these must stand or fall together. They are found in great variety, and supported by widely different degrees of proof. I do not even deny that the final result of the most skillful and fair investigation may be to leave the miracles of the Bible in their place of honor, the sole and only facts of that order which history will allow permanently to stand. I only say that the preliminary studies have not yet been undertaken,—at least, not carried by any means far enough,—to justify that as the final verdict. For the present, therefore, what we are entitled to demand is this: that the Biblical record, after due process of literary criticism, shall be judged exactly as we judge other records, ancient or modern, of alleged contemporary fact. I say nothing of what it may be when the

true conditions of historical criticism are better understood. But provisionally, and for the present, we seem to be justified in accepting a Scripture miracle as true, if the same or a corresponding degree of evidence would convince us of the same thing happening in Asia to-day or in America a hundred years ago; and we are not justified in accepting it, if the same or a corresponding degree of evidence would not convince us of the same thing happening in Asia to-day or in America a hundred years ago.

Accepting this as a general criterion, there is one large class of Scripture miracles, or what are generally regarded as such—chiefly the healing of nervous and mental disorders,—which we may accept [as facts] with little hesitation, subject of course to the criticism of an improved physiology. There are others—chiefly those concerning certain natural phenomena,—which we should almost certainly reject as facts, without any hesitation at all. Some of these may be poetry, like that of Joshua and the sun; some, allegory or myth, like that of Jonah and the whale, the ascension of Elijah, or the children in the fiery furnace; some—like the feeding of the multitudes, stilling the tempest, walking on the waves, or blasting the fig-tree,—a natural enough misunderstanding of the real fact, whatever that may have been, or perhaps a parable misconceived. Such expositions lie mostly in the region of pure hypothesis.

There are others which have taken a deeper hold on the religious imagination, and which have become, so to speak, articles of religious faith in themselves. As to these the judgment of candid and honest minds is likely to be greatly in suspense, and painfully. That we cannot help. We wish to see, if we are candid and honest, just where our principles of belief are likely to lead us.

Of such events the typical one, and beyond comparison the most momentous, is the resurrection of Jesus. To this our ordinary canons do not quite apply: first, because absolute belief in it, by those who claimed to be eye-witnesses, was the main-spring of a great and definite movement in human history; and second, because belief in it not only qualifies men's view

of the course of events in general, as all miracle does, but is apt to determine their whole view of human life and destiny. Not only as the demonstration of a life to come, but as symbol and proof of the victory of good over evil, the place which it holds in the religious mind is entirely unique. Criticism is therefore bound to approach it more deliberately, more anxiously, more tenderly, than it approaches any other which it is really seeking to understand.

We may admit, at the outset, the overwhelming presumption which the modern mind finds against the literal interpretation of the narrative. It is probably not too much to say that no educated mind—that is, no mind trained in modern methods—now believes that a body of flesh and blood literally came from the grave, and in plain sight of men rose above the clouds:—the view of it which most early believers maintained with great intrepidity. That has passed away, along with the dogma of the resurrection of the body, which it was held to prove.

The alternative which forces itself upon the modern mind is plain: either there was no real death, or there was no real revival of the dead. No weight of evidence will outweigh the vast improbability. But that alternative only brings us to the threshold of the interpretation we seek. It only puts the question in another form: Is it possible for a human soul, after death, to manifest its presence in a way of which the resurrection of Jesus is an example and a type? And to this question there are several affirmative answers, giving as many phases of belief, none of them disproved, and some of them, it may be, not incapable of future proof. Granting that a realm of conscious life exists [after death], it would be absurd to deny that it could be made known to us; and there would remain no difficulty either in the recorded appearances of Jesus or in countless other manifestations of spirits that have passed into it before us. It becomes simply a question of the larger possibilities and destinies of human nature.

It is perfectly easy to see what the first disciples understood by the resurrection

of Jesus, and in what sense they believed in it. Paul, to be sure, the earliest Christian writer, speaks of it very vaguely, except as to the point of its reality, which he insists on in every possible way, as the very foundation of Christian faith. The particular event and way of "the resurrection from the dead" he says nothing about, except to insist that it is *not* a form of flesh and blood, but a "spiritual body", that dwells in the after-life. But the next generation have left us no room whatever to doubt of their meaning. They have explained and argued, in the most explicit terms, that it *was* a body of flesh and blood which rose from the grave. It was proved to be so by the act of eating and drinking; it was shown by wounds and scars to be the same that was actually mangled upon the cross; and it was visibly taken up in plain daylight into the sky. It is saying nothing whatever to criticise or condemn that belief, to say that it has passed wholly out of the educated mind of the present day, along with the kindred and dependent doctrine of the resurrection of our own bodies. . . .

It appears to me that the chief lesson we have to learn as to these matters is modesty and patience. Hasty dogmatism is the demand of the impatient partisan, and the source of never-ending, bitter, fruitless controversy. What I have called a "scientific" method of dealing with the subject will tolerate no such thing. The long experience of physical investigation, leading to the enormous enlargement of our positive knowledge and power, teaches always this one lesson, intellectual humility. Science forbids partisanship and passion: it does not forbid an intense, deep, personal interest in the wide field it explores. The world of man—of emotion, character and act, opened to us in Christian history and in the study of the human soul—is far nearer to our thought, and far more interesting, than the splendid realm of outward phenomena taught in our cosmology and our physics. Let it be studied with equal patience, reverence, humility, with equal loyalty to the revelation of simple fact, and its fruit will not be less precious or abundant.

Joseph H. Allen.

AN HISTORIAN'S WAY OF DEALING WITH MIRACLES.

[In connection with Mr. Allen's thought, three notable papers on "Miracles" may be mentioned, one by a distinguished scientist, the others by those who look at the subject as historians:

- (1) In Prof. Tyndall's "Fragments of Science", the chapter on "Miracles and Special Providences",—a keen criticism of Mozley's defense of Miracles.
- (2) Hume's famous last-century "Essay on Miracles".
- (3) In Lecky's "History of the Rise of Rationalism in Europe", the first two chapters on "the Declining Sense of the Miraculous": ch. I., on "Magic and Witchcraft"; ch. II., and closer to our points, on "the Miracles of the Church". We quote from this last chapter:]

We have now taken a sufficiently extensive survey of the history of miracles to enable us to arrive at a general conclusion. We have seen that ever since that revival of learning which preceded the Reformation, and dispelled the torpor and ignorance in which Europe had been for centuries immersed, the human mind has been pursuing on this subject a uniform and an unvarying course. . . . All the weight of tradition and of learning, all the energies of conservatism of every kind, have been opposed to the movement, and all have been opposed in vain. Generation after generation the province of the miraculous has contracted, and the circle of skepticism has expanded. Of the two great divisions of these events, one has completely perished. Witchcraft and diabolical possession and diabolical disease have long since passed into the region of fables. To disbelieve them was at first the eccentricity of a few isolated thinkers; it was then the distinction of the educated classes in the most advanced nations; it is now the common sentiment of all classes in all countries in Europe. The countless miracles that were once associated with every holy relic and with every village shrine have rapidly and silently disappeared. Year by year the incredulity became more manifest even where the theological profession was unchanged. Their numbers continually lessened until they at last almost ceased; and any attempt to revive them has been treated with a general and undisguised contempt. The miracles of the Fathers are passed

over with an incredulous scorn, or with a significant silence. The rationalistic spirit has even attempted to explain away those which are recorded in Scripture, and it has materially altered their position in the systems of theology.

In all countries, in all churches, in all parties, among men of every variety of character and opinion, we have found the tendency existing. In each nation its development has been a measure of intellectual activity, and has passed in regular course through the different strata of society. During the last century it has advanced with a vastly accelerated rapidity; the old lines of demarcation have been everywhere obscured, and the spirit of Rationalism has become the great center to which the intellect of Europe is manifestly tending. If we trace the progress of the movement from its origin to the present day, we find that it has completely altered the whole aspect and complexion of religion. When it began, Christianity was regarded as a system entirely beyond the range and scope of human reason: it was impious to question; it was impious to examine; it was impious to discriminate. On the other hand, it was visibly instinct with the supernatural. Miracles of every order and degree of magnitude were flashing forth incessantly from all its parts. They excited no skepticism and no surprise. The miraculous element pervaded all literature, explained all difficulties, consecrated all doctrines. In the present day the idea of the miraculous, which a superficial observer might have once deemed the most prominent characteristic of Christianity, has been driven from almost all of its entrenchments, and now quivers faintly and feebly through the mists of eighteen hundred years. . . .

[As to the *illogical* consequences of this movement:]

When men first grasped the truth that the tendency of the human mind was from polytheism to monotheism, there were some who at once rushed on to atheism, considering that to be a continuation of the same movement. The disbelief in ghosts led many to materialism, and the

discovery that man was not the centre of all the contrivances of nature made not a few deny final causes. Just so, Science having shown that the phenomena of nature do not result (as every one once supposed) from direct and isolated acts of intervention, multitudes have passed by the impetus of the movement to the denial of the possibility of miracles. To say that Omnipotence cannot reverse the laws of His appointment is a contradiction in terms. To say that an Infinite mind never modifies those laws for special purposes, and in a manner that exceeds both human capacities and human comprehension, is to make an assertion that is unproved and contrary to analogy. To say that the metaphysical conception of Infinity precludes the notion of miracles is useless, because (as Mansel and others have shown) the creation of the world is equally irreconcilable with that conception, and because the existence of evil throws all such reasoning into hopeless confusion. To say, in fine, that there

was no use in miracles accompanying a revelation in an early stage of society, is completely to ignore the passion for the wonderful, and the dim perception of the moral, which are the characteristics of such a society. All these propositions flow naturally, but not legitimately, out of the reaction against the "Government by Miracle", in which Europe once believed.

But the *logical* consequences of the movement are, I think, twofold. 1. The difficulty of proving miracles satisfactorily is incalculably increased, because it is shown that, in a certain phase of civilization, the belief in miracles necessarily arises, and that many thousands, which are now universally rejected, were then universally believed, supported by a vast amount of evidence, and entirely unconnected with imposition. 2. The essentially moral character which theology progressively acquires renders miraculous evidence (except for a particular class of minds) useless.

W. E. H. Lecky.

THE REAL BASIS AND MEANING OF MIRACLES.

If it should ever be proved that Jesus did not perform the miracles or miraculous works in the order of physical nature, attributed to him in the Gospels, I do not think we should lose an essential evidence of his celestial mission. Some theologians have regarded these reported miracles as violations of the laws of nature, and have on this ground contended that he possessed divine power. This they have made the fundamental proof of the authority of Jesus and they must therefore defend miracles at all hazards. But many of the best Christian thinkers in all ages have taken a different view. They have not regarded the miracles as violations of law, but as wonderful works revealing a higher order of law, suggestions of powers inherent in the spiritual nature of man. This in my opinion is the true view. Christianity does not rest necessarily on the physical miracles of Christ, but on his moral miracles, which no one has ever doubted or can doubt.

Christianity proceeded from Jesus, and was transmitted by him, not as a philoso-

phy, but as a power, a life, which renewed the old world and created a new dispensation. This is the great miracle. We do not really believe Christianity on the ground of miracles, but we believe miracles on the ground of Christianity. The orthodox doctrine has been, and still is, that Christianity rests on miracles. Our view is that miracles rest on Christianity. That is to say we believe that Christ did wonderful works in the realm of nature, because these works are narrated simply and naturally in connection with the account of his spiritual character and life. It is because of the supreme elevation of his moral and spiritual nature, that we accept the probability that such a being may have had superior power over the natural order of physical nature. . . .

1. We may believe on the testimony of history, that through Jesus of Nazareth there entered the world a great impulse of creative moral life, which has been and is now renewing society.

2. We may believe, though perhaps

less strongly, that during the stay of Jesus on earth many extraordinary phenomena took place, such as the sudden healing of the sick, the raising of the dead to life, a display of miraculous insight and foresight, or knowledge of the present and the future, and some influence over organic and material life, and over the lifeless forces of nature. The precise limits of this we do not know, and need not pretend to define. We need not think it essential to fix the boundary. It may be interesting as speculation, but it is not important as religion.

3. For, in the third place, we may say that these miracles of Jesus have very little direct bearing on our religion. As they illustrate his character, they are valuable; and also as they help us to believe that the laws of nature are not stiff and rigid, like the movements of a machine, but that there is force above force, a vortex of living powers in the universe, rising higher and higher toward the fountain of all force and life in God. All portents and wonders are useful, as they shake us out of the mechanical view of things, and show that even the outward, sensible world is full of spiritual power.

4. We may also believe the miracles of Jesus to be *natural* in this sense,—that under the same conditions they could have been done by others, and that they are probably prophetic of a time in which they *shall* be done by others. Looked at as mere *signs* and *portents*, he himself discouraged any attention being paid to them.

Miracles were at first believed, on low grounds, as violations of law by a God outside of the world. Now they are disbelieved on scientific grounds. They may possibly be believed again on grounds of philosophy and historic evidence, not

as portents, not as violations of law, not as the basis of a logical argument, but as the natural effluence and outcome of a soul like that of Jesus, into which a supernatural influx of light and life had descended. They are not more wonderful than nature; they are not so wonderful as the change of heart by which a bad man becomes a good man. But they will find their proper place, as evidence how plastic the lower laws are to the influence of a higher life.

James Freeman Clarke.

It is the praise of our New Testament that its teachings go to the honor and benefit of humanity,—that no better lesson has been taught or incarnated. Let it stand, beautiful and wholesome, with whatever is most like it in the teaching and practice of men; but do not attempt to elevate it out of humanity by saying, "This was not a man", for then you confound it with the fables of every popular religion, and my distrust of the story makes me distrust the doctrine as soon as it differs from my own belief.

Whoever thinks a story gains by the prodigious, by adding something out of nature, robs it more than he adds. It is no longer an example, a model; no longer a heart-stirring hero, but an exhibition, a wonder, an anomaly, removed out of the range of influence with thoughtful men.

I am glad to believe society contains a class of humble souls who enjoy the luxury of a religion that does not degrade; who think it the highest worship to expect of Heaven the most and the best; who do not wonder that there was a Christ, but that there were not a thousand; who have conceived an infinite hope for mankind; who believe that the history of Jesus is the history of every man, written large.

Ralph Waldo Emerson.

THE REAL VALUE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT MIRACLE STORIES.

Is the truth of Christianity identical with the literal truth of its record? It is obvious at the start that a certain amount of historic truth must be assumed as implied in the very existence of any religion which dates from a personal founder; whose thought it professes to embody, and

whose name it bears. Christianity purports to be founded on the ministry of a Jewish teacher, entitled by his followers "the Christ". We have the testimony of a nearly contemporary Latin historian to the fact that an individual so named was the leader of a numerous body of religion-

ists, and was put to death by command of Pontius Pilate, in the reign of Tiberius. But without this confirmation, the very existence of the Christian Church compels us to accept as historic facts the ministry of Jesus, the strong impression of his word and character, his purity of manners and moral greatness, his life of beneficent action, his martyr death, and his manifestation to his disciples after death, however that manifestation be conceived, whether as subjective experience or as objective reality. But observe, it is Christianity that assures the truth of these facts, and not the facts that prove Christianity. Christianity assures the truth of certain facts; but by no means of all the facts affirmed by the writers of the New Testament. Faith in Christianity as divine dispensation does not imply, and must not be held to the belief, as veritable history, of all that is recorded in the Gospel. Not the historic sense, but the spiritual import; not the facts, but the ideas, of the Gospel, are the genuine topics of faith.

Christianity, like every other religion, has its mythology, --a mythology so intertwined with the veritable facts of its early history, so braided and welded with its first beginnings, that history and myth are not always distinguishable the one from the other. Every historic religion, that has won for itself a conspicuous place in the world's history, has evolved from a core of fact a nimbus of legendary matter, which criticism cannot always separate, and which the popular faith does not seek to separate, from the solid parts of the system. And in one view the legends or myths which gather around the initial stage of any religion are as true as the vouched and substantial facts of its record; they are the product of the same spirit working, in the one case, in the acts and experiences; in the other, in the visions, the ideas, the literary activity, of the faithful. It is one and the same motive that inspires both the writer and the doer.

... Before proceeding farther, I desire to explain what I mean by myth in this connection. I call any story a myth, which for good reasons is not to be taken historically, and yet is not a willful fabrication with intent to deceive, but the

natural growth of wonder and tradition, or a product of the Spirit uttering itself in a narrative form. The myth may be the result of exaggeration, the expansion of a veritable fact which gathers increments and a *posse comitatus* of additions as it travels from mouth to mouth in the carriage of verbal report; or it may be the reflection of a fact in the mind of a writer, who reproduces it in his writing with the color and proportions it has taken in his conception; or it may be the poetic embodiment of a mental experience; or it may be what Strauss calls "the deposit of an idea", and another critic "an idea shaped into fact". I think we have examples of all these mythical formations in the New Testament: and I hold that the credit of the Gospel in things essential is nowise impaired, nor the claim of Christianity as a divine revelation compromised, by a frank admission of this admixture of fancy with fact in its record.

... It is a childish limitation which, in reading stories, can feel no interest in anything but fact; and a childish misconception which supposes that, where the form is narrative, historic fact must needs be the substance. The story of William Tell was once universally received as authentic history; it was written in the hearts of the people of Uri; and so religiously were all its incidents cherished, that, when a book appeared discrediting the sacred tradition, it was publicly burned by the hangman at Altorf. For five centuries the chapel on the shore of the Lake of the Four Cantons has commemorated a hero whose very existence is now questioned, of whom contemporary annals know nothing, of whose tyrant Gessler the well-kept records of the Canton exhibit no trace, whose apple placed as a mark for the father's arrow on the head of his child is proved to have done a foregone service in an older Danish tale. The story resolves itself into an idea. That idea is all that concerns us; and that idea survives, inextinguishable to criticism, a truth forevermore. In the world of ideas there is still a William Tell who defied the tyrant at Altorf, and slew him at Kussnacht, and whose image will live while the mountains stand that gave it birth.

And so all that is memorable out of the

past, all that tradition has preserved, the veritable facts of history as well as the myths of legendary lore, pass finally into ideas. Only as ideas they survive, only as ideas have they any abiding value.

The anecdote recorded of Aristides—his writing his own name at the request of an ignorant citizen on the shell that should condemn him—embodies a noble idea which has floated down to us from the head-waters of Grecian history. Do we care to know the evidence on which it rests? If by critical investigation the fact were made doubtful, would that doubt at all impair the truth of the idea? The story of Damon and Pythias, reported by Valerius Maximus, for aught that we know, may be a myth: suppose it could be proved to be so, the truth that is in it would be none the less precious. We do not receive it on the truth of the historian, but on the faith of its own intrinsic beauty. There is scarcely a fact in the annals of mankind so vouched and ascertained as to be beyond the reach of historic doubt, if any delver in ancient documents or curious skeptic shall see fit to call it in question. But however the fact may be questioned, the idea remains. We have lived to see apologies for Judas Iscariot, and the literary rehabilitation of Henry VIII. But Judas is none the less, in popular tradition, the typical traitor, the impersonation of devilish malice; and Henry VIII. is no less the remorseless tyrant whose will was his God. The best that history yields to philosophic thought is not facts but ideas. A fact means nothing until thought has transmuted it into itself: its value is simply the idea it subtends. Homer's heroes are as true in this sense as those of Plutarch, and Shakspeare's Hamlet is incomparably more real than the Prince of Denmark whom Saxo Grammaticus chronicles.

I do not underrate the importance of facts on their own historic plane. The historian, as an annalist, is bound by the rules of his craft with conscientious investigation to ascertain, substantiate, and establish, if he can, the precise facts of the period he explores. I only contend that historic truth is not the only truth; that a fact,—if I may use that term in this connection for want of a better,—that

a fact which is not historically true may yet be true on a higher plane than that of history; true to reason, to moral and religious sentiment and human need. The story of Christ's temptation is none the less true, but a great deal more so, when the narrative which embodies the interior psychological fact is conceived as myth, than when it is interpreted as veritable history. The truth that concerns us is that the Son of Man "was tempted in all points as we are", not that he was taken by the Devil and set on a pinnacle of the temple, and thence spirited away "into an exceeding high mountain".

We have now attained a point of view from which to estimate, on the one hand, the real import of what I have ventured to call the myths of the New Testament, and on the other hand to overrule the petulant radicalism which, not distinguishing truth of idea from truth of fact, condemns these legends, and perhaps condemns the Gospel on their account. I have wished to show how unessential it is to the right enjoyment or profitable use of those portions of the record, that we receive them as fact; to show that, if we seize and appropriate the idea, those narratives are quite as edifying from a mythical as from an historical point of view; in other words, that the Holy Spirit may and does instruct by fiction as well as fact. If I am asked to draw the line which separates fact from fiction, or to fix the criterion by which to discriminate between the one and the other, I answer that I do not pretend to decide this point for myself, much less should I presume to attempt to settle it for others.

I am not disposed to dogmatize upon the subject. It is a matter upon which each must judge for himself. I will only say that for myself I do not place the line of demarcation between miracles and the unmiraculous, for the reason that it seems to me, as I said before, unphilosophical to make our every-day experience of the limits of human power and the capabilities of nature an absolute standard by which to measure the possible scope of the one or the other.

How far is our idea of Christ affected by a mode of interpretation which supposes a mingling of mythical with historic

elements in the Gospel record? That idea is based on the representations of the evangelists. Will not our confidence in those representations be impaired by this view of their contents? I see no cause to apprehend a result so distressing to Christian faith. The mythical interpretation of certain portions of the Gospel has no appreciable bearing on the character of Christ. The impartial reader of the record must see that the evangelists did not invent that character; they did not make the Jesus of their story; on the contrary, it was he that made them. It is a true saying that only a Christ could invent a Christ. The Christ of history is a true reflection of the image which Jesus of Nazareth imprinted on the mind of his contemporaries. In that image the spiritual greatness, the moral perfection, are not more conspicuous than the well-defined individuality which permeates the story, and which no genius could invent. If the

Christ of the Church, of Christian faith, is, as some will have it, an ideal being, it was Jesus of Nazareth who made the ideal. By the very necessity of its function, history idealizes. The individual is the bodily presence as it dwells in space: the historic figure is the image of himself which the individual stamps on his time, and so far as his record reaches, on all succeeding time,—his import to mankind. That is his idea, his mission to the world, his historic significance. It is this that concerns us in all the great actors of history,—the historic person, not the individual. We misread the Gospel and reverse the true and divine order, if we suppose the ideal Christ to be an essence distilled from the historical. On the contrary, the ideal Christ is the root and ground of the historical; and without the antecedent idea inspiring, commanding, the history would never have been.

Frederic H. Hedge.

A PARABLE.

Worn and footsore was the prophet,
When he gained the holy hill:
"God has left the earth", he murmured,
"Here his presence lingers still.
"God of all the olden prophets,
Wilt thou speak with men no more?
Have I not as truly served thee
As thy chosen ones of yore?
"Hear me, Guide of my fathers,
Lo! a humble heart is mine:
By thy mercy I beseech thee
Grant thy servant but a sign!"
Bowing then his head, he listened
For an answer to his prayer:
No loud burst of thunder followed,
Not a murmur stirred the air;
But the tuft of moss before him
Opened while he waited yet,
And from out the rock's hard bosom
Sprang a tender violet.
"God! I thank thee", said the prophet;
"Hard of heart and blind was I,

Looking to the holy mountain
For the gift of prophecy.
"Still thou speakest with thy children
Freely as in old sublime;
Humbleness, and love, and patience,
Still give empire over time.
"Had I trusted in my nature,
And had faith in lowly things,
Thou thyself wouldst then have sought me,
And set free my spirit's wings.
But I looked for signs and wonders
That o'er men should give me sway;
Thirsting to be more than mortal,
I was even less than clay.
"Ere I entered on my journey,
As I girt my loins to start,
Ran to me my little daughter,
The beloved of my heart;—
"In her hand she held a flower
Like to this as like may be,
Which, beside my very threshold,
She had plucked and brought to me."

James Russell Lowell.

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GOD.

PASSAGES FROM VARIOUS WRITERS, SELECTED BY MRS. E. R. SUNDERLAND.

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DEVOTIONAL READINGS.

Lord, thou hast been our dwelling-place in all generations. Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting, thou art God.

Psalm xc.

Of old hast thou laid the foundations of the earth; and the heavens are the work of thy hands. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure. Yea, all of them shall wax old like a garment: as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed: but thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end.

Psalm cii.

Hast thou not known, hast thou not heard, that the everlasting God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary? There is no searching of his understanding.

He giveth power to the faint; and to them that have no might he increaseth strength. Even the youths shall faint and be weary, and the young men shall utterly fall: but they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; and they shall walk, and not faint.

Isaiah xl.

O Lord, thou hast searched me, and known me. Thou knowest my down-sitting and mine up-rising; thou understandest my thought afar off. Thou compassedst my path and my lying down, and art acquainted with all my ways. For there is not a word in my tongue, but lo, O Lord, thou knowest it altogether. Thou hast beset me behind and before, and laid thy hand upon me.

Such knowledge is too wonderful for

me; it is high, I cannot attain unto it. Whither shall I go from thy Spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence? If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there. If I make my bed in the grave, behold thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me. If I say, surely the darkness shall cover me, even the night shall be light about me. Yea, the darkness hideth not from thee, but the night shineth as the day; the darkness and the light are both alike to thee.

Psalm cxxxix.

Nothing is closed to God. He is present in our conscience. He intervenes in our thoughts. I tell thee, a sacred spirit dwells within us, the observer and preserver of our good and evil deeds.

Seneca.

The paths to God are more in number than the breathings of created beings. Whatever road I take joins the highway that leads to thee.

Ride thou on for eternity through the empyrean, mounted on thy ideal,—thou shalt not stride beyond his threshold! Soar thou beyond all limit to the roof of the universe, thou shalt behold one tile of his dwelling—one tile, no more.

God hath made all atoms in space mirrors, and fronteth each one with his perfect face.

Wouldst thou know where I found the Supreme? One step beyond myself. Behind the veil of self shines unseen the beauty of the Loved One.

Which is the great name of God? Tell

me his least name, and I will give thee back his greatest.

All nations and languages repeat the name of God; even infancy lisps it; Allah! Tangari! Yezdan! Elohim! Yet cannot his praise be duly expressed by mortal, till the dumb man shall be eloquent, and stocks and stones find voice; till the silent universe rejoices in language.

Medieval Persian Poets.

How dear, how soothing to man, arises the idea of God, peopling the lonely place, effacing the scars of our mistakes and disappointments! When we have broken our God of tradition, and ceased from our God of rhetoric, then may God fire the heart with his presence. It is the doubling of the heart itself, nay, the infinite enlargement of the heart with a power of growth to a new infinity on every side. It inspires in man an infallible trust. He has not the conviction, but the sight, that the best is the true, and may in that thought easily dismiss all particular uncertainties and fears, and adjourn to the sure revelation of time the solution of his private riddles. He is sure that his welfare is dear to the heart of being. But if he would know what the great God speaketh, he must go into his closet and shut the door, as Jesus said. God will not make himself manifest to cowards. He must greatly listen to himself, withdrawing himself from all the accents of other men's devotions. Even their prayers are hurtful to him, until he have made his own. * * He that finds God a sweet, enveloping thought to him never counts his company. When I sit in that presence, who shall dare to come in?

R. W. Emerson.

VALUE OF BELIEF IN GOD.

The profoundest of all human wants is the want of God. The sense of God is what only spring by which the crushing tieight of sense, of the world, and temptation can be withstood. It has accomplished more, it has strengthened men to go and suffer more, than all other principles. It can sustain the mind against all other powers. Without God our existence

has no support, our life no aim, our improvements no permanence, our best labor no sure and enduring results, our spiritual weakness no power to lean upon, and our noblest aspirations and desires no pledge of being realized in a better state. Struggling virtue has no friend; suffering virtue no promise of victory. Take away God, and life becomes mean, and

man poorer than the brute. I am accustomed to speak of the greatness of human nature ; but it is great only through its parentage ; great because descended from God, because connected with a goodness and power from which it is to be enriched for ever ; and nothing but the consciousness of this connection can give that hope of elevation through which alone the mind is to rise to true strength and liberty. * *

Every man's elevation is to be measured first and chiefly by his conception of God ; and to attain a just, and bright, and quickening knowledge of him, is the highest aim of thought. In truth, the great end of the universe, of revelation, of life, is to develop in us the idea of God. To know God is to attain to the sublimest conception in the universe. We believe that his infinite perfection is the only sufficient object and true resting-place for the insatiable desires and unlimited capacities of the human mind, and that, without him, our noblest sentiments, admiration, veneration, hope and love, would wither and decay. We believe, too, that the love of God is not only essential to happiness, but to the strength and perfection of all the virtues.

Wm. Ellery Channing.

Nothing is long fruitful of delight when divorced from the consciousness of God ; nothing thrives that is at enmity with God. * * The human consciousness of the infinite God will show itself, not merely in belief or prayer and thanksgiving, but by the legitimate action of every limb of the body and every faculty of the spirit. * * I will not say that a man cannot be honest without a distinct consciousness of his relation to God ; but I must say that consciousness of God is a great help to honesty in the business of a shop, or the business of a nation. * * Trust in God will do two things. It will keep you from many an error : nobody knows how great a gain this is until he has tried. Then it will help you after you have wandered from the way. Fallen, you will not despair, but rise the wiser and the stronger for the fall. * * * The consciousness of my connection with God, of my obligation to God, of his providence watching over all — this, and

the effort to keep every law he has written in my constitution, enlarges my capacity to love men. The normal and conscious worship of the infinite God will enlarge every faculty, and enhance its quality and quantity of delight.

Theodore Parker.

Mankind will bear a great deal, but it will not long bear the denial of a God of love, the hope of being perfect, and a divine faith in immortality. These things are more precious than all physical discoveries. It really does not make much matter to the race in general whether the whole science of geology were proved to-morrow to have been proceeding on a wrong basis, or whether the present theory of force be true or not ; but it would make the most serious matter to mankind, if they knew for certain to-morrow that there was no God of justice and love, or that immortality was a fond invention. The amount of suppressed and latent belief in these truths, which we should then discover in men who now deny them, would be perhaps the strangest thing we should observe ; but it hath not entered into the heart of man to imagine the awfulness of the revolution which, following on this denial, would penetrate into every corner of human nature and human life.

Stepford Brooke.

One thought I have, my ample creed,
So deep it is and broad,
And equal to my every need,—
It is the thought of God.

Each morn unfolds some fresh surprise ;
I feast at Life's full board ;
And rising in my inner skies
Shines forth the thought of God.

At night my gladness is my prayer ;
I drop my daily load,
And every care is pillowed there
Upon the thought of God.

I ask not far before to see,
But take in trust my road ;
Life, death and immortality
Are in my thought of God.

Be still the light upon my way,
My pilgrim staff and rod,
My rest by night, my strength by day,
O blessed thought of God !

F. L. Hosmer.

HOW CAN WE KNOW GOD?

To me, I confess, it seems a very considerable thing, just to believe in God;—difficult, indeed, to avoid honestly, but not easy to accomplish worthily, and impossible to compass perfectly;—a thing not lightly to be professed, but rather humbly to be sought; not to be found at the end of any syllogism, but in the inmost fountains of purity and affection; not the sudden gift of intellect, but to be earned by a loving and brave life. It is indeed the greatest thing allowed to mankind,—the germ of every lesser greatness: and he who can say, "I have faith in the Almighty," makes a higher boast than if he could declare "The Mediterranean is in my garden, and mine is every branch that waves upon its shores, from the cedars of Lebanon to the pine upon the Alps." It is no outward change, no shifting in time or place, but only the loving meditation of the pure in heart, that can re-awaken the Eternal from the sleep within our souls; that can render him a reality again, and vindicate for him once more his ancient name of THE LIVING GOD.

How profoundly this is true—that in divine things the little child may know what the great philosopher may miss—will appear, if you only think what God is, and whether he is likely to be discovered on any explorer's track or by any artifice of calculation. Two things science enables us to do, from which all its triumph springs. It shows us how to put the parts and products of nature into true classes; and it qualifies us to foresee phenomena else unsuspected. But God is neither a being to be classified, nor a phenomenon to be foreseen. Such procedures of the mind are quite inapplicable, except to the finite and the transient; and he who goes forth upon them may find whatever begins to be, but not that which forever is; may rightly dispose of this and that, but never meet the All in All. As well might you attempt to put space under your microscope, or weigh gravitation in your scales. If you believe that God exists, and understands your words when you call him "infinite" and "eternal," you cannot expect to find him as one object among many, but as

a spirit in all, the living reality of all appearance; the firmament of thought that holds the stars; the omnipresent deep that throws up the tides of history and the ripples of private care; the sole power of the universe without; the archetype of the free soul within; and the secret source of the meaning that dwells in everything. Were he at all away, we might step forth to seek him; did he ever slumber, we might watch for the date of his waking times. But living forever in us and around us, he does not enable us to compare his presence with his absence; if we miss him, it is from his perpetuity and nearness; if we meet him, it is not by feeling after him abroad, but by dropping inward and returning home. The differences by which he is revealed are in us and not in him; in our faculty of recognition, by no means in his constancy of action. His light is alive in the very hearts that neglect or deny him; and in those that most own him is latent a thousand times for once that it flashes on their conscious eye. But there are moments when the beauty of the universe looks in at us with a meaning quite divine; or the crises of history shake us as the visible drama of Providence; or the eye of appealing misery burns into the place of pity in our souls, and we know it to be *his* sympathy as well as *ours*; or a new insight of duty opens a path which he alone could show. In these instances, we strain no ingenuity to discover him; it is he who comes to us and finds us; his presence rises of itself, and the revelation is spontaneous. Our sole concern is to accept it, to revere it, to follow it, to live by it.

Thus the true attitude of the devout mind always involves a certain quietism and self-relinquishment. Instead of pressing curiously forward, it sinks in meditation back, rests upon the present moment as divine, and feels the very pavement beneath its feet as holy. It has neither any distance to go, nor any time to wait, in order to close in with the spirit of God; only to own and trust him now and here, to pass into his hand with simple faith, a disarmed and unreluctant captive to his will. To commune with God,

there is need of no subtle thought, no foreign tongue, no newest philosophy: "the pure in heart shall see him;" and Fox and Bunyan can more truly make him known, than "Masters of Sentences" and "Angelic Doctors." Whatever is most deep within us is the reflection of himself. Whatever dawn of blessed sanctity, and waking of purer perceptions, opens to our consciousness, is the sweet touch of his morning light within us. His inspiration is perennial; and he never ceases to work within us, if we consent to will and to do his pleasure. He befriends our moral efforts; encourages us to maintain our resolute fidelity

and truth; and reveals to us many things far too fair and deep for language to express. Finding a holy of holies within us, we need not curiously ask whether its secret voices are of ourselves or of the Father. Christ felt how, within the depths of our spiritual nature, the personalities of heaven and earth might become entwined together and indissolubly blended. "Thou Father, art in me, and I in thee, and they also one in us." And so the holy spirit within us, the spirit of Christ and the spirit of God, are after all but one,—a blessed Trinity, our part in which gives to our souls a dignity most humbling, yet august.

James Martineau.

PERSONALITY OF GOD.

Can we speak of God as a person? And in what sense can we use that term? I answer that, so far as religious uses are concerned, it is useless to talk of a God who is not in some sense person. Necessity, Fate, does not make a God; nor power nor intelligence alone; nor Mr. Arnold's "Eternal, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness." These may suggest the origin or express the moral order of the universe; but they do not constitute a God whom one can pray to,—a God whom one would care to worship, or would ever draw near to and seek to commune with. The God of our devotion, if devotion is anything more than an empty farce, must be, in some sense, person. And in what sense? I include in that idea intelligent will, providential care, and a moral government of the universe.

* * In this sense, then, the God of religion must be a person. The God of our devotion must be a person; but devotion does not require that we invest that person with a human form. God must be conceived as Father, in order that we may get the nearest access to him and the best enjoyment of his idea. The love of God must be conceived as paternal, in order that we may conceive of God's loving at all.

Again, we call God moral governor and judge, and we are right in so doing. The God of religion must be human. But this human God must be infinitely hu-

man—man, without man's infirmities and bounds; personal, without individuality; the Father, without parental doting; the moral ruler, without vindictiveness.

All that is essential in our idea of God we get, not from the understanding, but from the heart; and all that is essential in it is secured to us by the heart's perpetual needs. Philosophy may assail the conception, and science may disown the idea; but they furnish nothing that can fill its place. The pure in heart will still see God. The pure heart is a little child that knows its Father and will hear of no substitute. In the morning of creation it sought and found the unseen Friend when "Enoch walked with God." From the "house of bondage," in after years, it sent up a sigh, and received for answer the great word, "I am." In the noon tide of history, it paused to listen and learned to say, "Our Father in Heaven." And when time is old, when science has fulfilled its career, and speculation repeated its ever-recurring circle, and both have confessed their incompetence alike to grasp or refute, when prophecies fail, and tongues have ceased, and fancied knowledge of the absolute vanished away,—the heart, the eternal child, with invincible faith, will still rejoice in Him "in whom we live and move and have our being."

F. W. Hedge.

There is an Infinite and Eternal Energy from which all things proceed. This is

as much more certain than any phenomenal fact whatever, as is the general fact of seeing more certain than anybody's report of any particular thing stated to have been seen.

For my present purpose I care not by what name you call this Power, or, indeed, whether you name it at all; for any finite name must be utterly inadequate as a designation of the infinite.

But unless science is to stultify herself and deny her own essential postulates, she must admit that "nothing comes from nothing," and that "a stream cannot rise higher than its source." If, then, I may not talk of this Power as thinking or planning or loving or as personal—because all these are finite terms—still, by all the canons of science, I am bound to regard it as at least equal and adequate to these; for these are some of its finite manifestations. This power, then, is at least as much as we mean by intelligence and love and personality. Or as Herbert Spencer said to me one day,

"I see no reason why we should not regard this Power as being as much above personality as we are higher than vegetable growths."

And I, for one, see no good reason for our being so afraid of being anthropomorphic. Whether afraid of it or not, we must be anthropomorphic until we cease to be *anthropoi*, men. We are just as anthropomorphic in chemistry as we are in theology. So long as we speak at all, we must use terms derived from our own experience. And even a partial expression may be more nearly correct than silence or no expression at all. And it is just as possible for one to be negatively dogmatic as to be positively so; and the former may be even farther from the truth than the latter. He who asserts mere force may be as dogmatic as he who asserts God. And, if he tells the theist that he does not know what God is, the theist has a perfect right to retort that he does not know what force is.

M. J. Savage.

GOD A FATHER.

There is one view of God particularly suited to elevate us: I mean the view of him as the "Father of our spirits;" as having created us with great powers to grow up to perfection. This one idea, expanded in the breast of the laborer, is a germ of elevation more fruitful than all science, no matter how extensive or profound, which treats only of outward finite things. And what is it to be a father? It is to communicate one's nature, to give life to kindred beings; and the *highest* function of a father is to educate the mind of the child, and to impart to it what is noblest and happiest in his own mind. God is our Father, not merely because he created us, or because he gave us enjoyment: for he created the flower and the insect, yet we call him not their father. This bond is a spiritual one. This name belongs to God because he frames spirits like himself, and delights to give them what is most glorious and blessed in his own nature. He has created us not only to partake of his works, but to be "partakers of a divine

nature," not only to receive his gifts but to receive himself. He pervades, penetrates our souls. And he is thus near, not only to discern, but to act, to influence, to give his spirit, to communicate to us divinity. This is the great paternal gift of God.

Wm. Ellery Channing.

God is not only the Author of Nature; he is also our "Father in Heaven." Above and around all his actions in the physical creation there lies a diviner and a tenderer realm, an infinite circumambient space of his mind, that does not act on matter, but is only present with spirits. However vast and majestic the uniformities of nature, they are nevertheless finite: science counts them all. God, however, is not finite: he lives out beyond the legislation he has made; and his thought, which defines the rules of matter does not transmute into them and cease else-how to be; but merely flings out the law as an emanating act and himself abides behind as thinking power,—an eternal Spirit

with a boundless inner life still unexpressed. In this silent ocean of his being,—this transcendent spiritual sphere of his life, dwells the remaining element of the perfection which we seek. It is an all-embracing love, an inexhaustible holiness, an eternal pity, an immeasurable freedom of affection, whence all the regularities of his will spring forth, and which leaves enough behind to visit the private wants of every soul, to linger with tenderness near every sorrow, to be present with rescue in every temptation. This it is that is the real ground of our trust and love: God is not merely the power of nature, but the Father of Spirits: his resources are not spent and used up in the legislation of the physical universe, but are large enough to overflow freely and copiously into the spirits that are in the likeness of himself. Hence, without violated rule, without breach of pledge, he can enter with gentle help into every mind, and while keeping faith with the universe, knock at the gate of every lonely heart. Stupendous as may be the network of determinate law, with threads fastened on every world, and continuous through all kosmic ages, there is room enough in the interstices for the free play of the spirit that passeth where it listeth,—for the movements of an everlasting moral life amid the natural,—and for all the swift pulses of divine affection. It is precisely in the union of these two,—a customary order he will not loose,—a free spirit he will not bind,—that God is perfect in himself and open to near communion as well as distant trust. Let man keep his thought and faith in sympathy with both sides of this great world which manifests the life of God,—its everlasting ways,—its ever-living spirit; and he shall blend the ground note of constant duty with the sweet and running melody of an ever varying love, and become at length "perfect as the Father in heaven is perfect."

James Martineau.

Jesus never used any word suggesting power chiefly, or holiness exclusively, in relation to the Creator. He never speaks of God as the Creator, or the Almighty, or the Sovereign, or the Infinite, or the Eternal. Neither of these words was ever used by Jesus, so far as the records tell us of his thought. Whenever he described God it was the word "Father," and only that, which he used. And when this word—the fountain of love—was added to the conception which the Old Testament had traced in fire of the personality and righteousness of the Infinite, the structure of the Bible as the educator of the world's religious sentiment was complete. God is one, God is holy, God is the Father,—the Infinite is love; then the attraction is complete in the heavens for all the faculties of man, and for all human faculties in every race, in every age, and in all stages of progress and attainment. "The day when Jesus pronounced this word 'Father,'" says Ernest Renan, "he was truly Son of God. He spoke, for the first time, the sure word on which the edifice of eternal religion shall rest. He founded the pure worship, of no land, of no date, which all lofty souls will practice to the end of time. His religion that day was not only the religion good for humanity; it was absolute religion; and if other planets have inhabitants endowed with reason and morality, their religion can be no other than that which Jesus proclaimed at Jacob's well. The word of Jesus has been a gleam in a dark night. But the gleam will become the full day; and after having run through the whole circle of errors, mankind will return to that word as the imperishable expression of its faith and its hopes." The soul in which faith in the paternity of the Infinite has its home, however slight may be its attainment in knowledge, has reached the height of inward peace and rest.

T. Starr King.

GOD IN NATURE AND LIFE.

We are in the midst of a wonderful world. Talk about it how you will; call it universe, call it world, call it God; think of a soul separate from the sum of

things, or think of God only as the soul of the world, feeling, thrilling, and thinking through it all, as our soul feels, thrills, and thinks through every fibre of

our bodies ; think of it in any way you please, here is this grand stupendous fact : we stand in the presence of an infinite and eternal being ; a being out of whose life we have been born ; a being who feeds us and clothes us every day ; a power who cares for us ; a being in the keeping of whose law is life, in the disregard of whose law is death ; a being on whom we are dependent every moment of our lives. I say, think of him as you please. But whatever thought you may choose to have about it, whatever name you may choose to call this being by, he manifests himself as what ? As power, as order, as beauty, as life, as thought, as love, as pity, as tenderness, as care, as mercy, as forgiveness,—all these things and unspeakably more are the outcome and manifestation of this infinite being. And he is at least as much as the sum of all his manifestations.

According to the marvelous story of modern science, nature is all instinct with the life of God, and he manifests himself through it in every part. I pluck a rose in my garden, and look at it ; I smell its fragrance ; I rejoice in its beauty. The life that developed this flower of beauty, so unlike anything out of which it was born,—this is the presence of the eternal and unseen mystery that I call God. It is God's beauty that paints its petals ; it is God, the infinite artist, that shaped its leaves. I sit on the shore in the summer, and, as the tide rises, the waves come rolling in upon the sand. I follow these little wavelets that laugh and sing and murmur on the hard floor at my feet. I follow them out, some moonlight night, until two hundred thousand miles away I reach the moon ; and I say it is the moon that lifts and tosses and moves this endless, shifting scene of beauty. I trace it further, and I know that the sun has something to do with it. Thus I follow on the law that links the earth, the moon, and the sun, and, beyond this system, a further system among the countless number of those that make up the infinite depths of the starry heavens ; and, lo ! I am in the presence of an infinite, inexplicable life. It is God's power that tosses the wave at my feet,—the power that manifests itself in every most distant

system. I look upon the majesty of the mountains, and it is no longer a high place for devil-worship, as men so long have imagined : that sublimity is the sublimity of God. I listen to the air as it rustles among the tops of the trees ; and am I not justified in thinking as did the old prophet, when he said the chariot of God was moving in the tops of the mulberry trees ? It is these tree-tops touched and bent and bowed by the sweep of the garment of God as he passes by. And so nature everywhere thrills and is instinct with the presence and the life of this infinite spirit.

And if we turn from this, which is the manifestation of the life of God in nature, to our human affairs, what shall we find ? The whole human race together, with all its skill and all its genius and all its power through its whole life on earth, has never yet succeeded in creating or destroying one single particle of dust, or even of gas or air. The human race makes nothing : it simply learns the laws of God, and complies with the conditions, and waits for this mysterious power of the universe to create all riches and fling them at its feet. What is the work of the farmer or agriculturist ? He simply tears a little of the surface of the earth and drops in his seed, and waits while God unfolds this marvelous mystery of life and growth. What goes on when a man is engaged in the work of exchange ? A train of cars rapidly flies over the plains, crosses rivers, and rushes through mountain defiles from one land to another, and is dragged by what ? Is it the genius of Watt, the marvelous power and intellectual insight of Stephenson ? What did all these do ? Simply learned the way of God in a particle of water,—that was all. And this train of cars is dragged on its wonderful flight by the power of God, just as really as though it were a chariot flying through the air, harnessed to a band of angels. And so the shipmaster takes the trees that God by his wondrous and inexplicable power and life has developed through the ages in the forests, drags them to his shipyard, builds them, by the power of God that holds them together and keeps them in their places, into his wondrous structure

of a ship; and God's law of gravity pushes it off the ways and slides it into the ocean, and the waters bear it up in their arms, and God's winds catch its sails, or God's power in the steam confined in the engines turns the wheels that drive it in the face of the wind and storm, and bears it everywhere over the earth, laden with the riches that God, and not man, has developed out of the infinite resources of the world.

And God is very near to us in places where we talk only of human sympathy and human love in the relations of our daily life. Take this wonderful power that we call love,—we think that in naming we have explained it,—that binds two together, that builds a home, that is the basis of the civilization of the world,—what is it? It is the manifestation of this infinite, tender, creative power and love of God. Or take the mother's love for her wayward, wandering child,—the child that answers love with scorn, or with indifference, which is worse; that wanders over the earth, despising the household teaching and the household affection; and see the mother's love following such a child, pleading with it, waiting for it, loving against love, loving against hope,—here, friends, are the

tenderness and the pity and the mercy of the human heart alone, do you say? I say, the tenderness and love and pity of God. For whence did it come? Have you explained it when you have stopped with the individual? Have you explained the century-old oak when you have cut it close to the root, and simply look at it, trunk, branches, and leaflets? It runs down its roots into the earth, and is a part of the life from which it has sprung. And so when you have described the life of any individual, all this love, this tenderness, this pity, this mercy of man, you have explained nothing. Man himself, in all his glory and beauty of tenderness, is only a manifestation of the infinite life and love of God. He has come out of God as much as the oak tree springs out of the earth.

From this nearness of God to us there ought to come into our hearts trust; there ought to come patience and waiting. Nothing that needs to be accomplished for the good of man ought to seem hopeless to us. And when we think that it is this infinite mystery of life that is all around us and in us, our whole life ought to become no longer secular and profane, but sacred.

M. J. Savage.

GOD AND A FUTURE LIFE.

If we believe in God at all, the only adequate conception of him which will satisfy our intellect and heart alike is one which conceives of him as the sole self-existent Being and of everything and every one as having Being only in his being. The life of the universe of matter and spirit is *one life*,—the life of God infinitely conditioned in and through a myriad of forms. There is not a shred of the world called the world of nature which is not held in him, and is not, indeed, his thought. We all *are*, only because we are in him and part of his being, our personality held in his personality. Do not call this pantheism. It may be pantheism, but it is something more than pantheism. It is not saying the universe is God: it is saying God is the universe and something more than the universe. It is

the doctrine which St. Paul inferred from the old Greek poet: "In him we live and move and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, 'For we are also his offspring.'" It is the doctrine of St. Paul himself: "Of him and by him and through him are all things;" and the moment we fully conceive that he alone *is*, and that nothing is which is not he, it becomes intellectually absurd that any soul should go out as a candle. Once having been, once having had consciousness, once having had personality, it is impossible to lose being, consciousness, personality. That which is in God, in eternal Being, cannot perish.

The act of creation lays on us a duty. We bring a child into the world, and the absolute imperative of God is upon us to

feed, clothe, educate, and love to the end that to which we have given life. It is so I firmly believe with God and men. By the very act of creation, God has laid upon himself a necessity of redemption. We wander from him, and he punishes us through his spiritual laws; we reap that which we have sown; we fill our belly with the husks which the swine eat. He lets us eat of the fruit of our own devices, the day of retribution comes, and our pleasures turn to gall, our irritated desires become our hell. Lower and lower still we sink, and suffering is hard on us; for impatient man must touch the abyss of God's chastening tenderness before pride and self be conquered into penitence. But God waits and works: "Them also I must

bring," speaks the necessity which flows from his Fatherhood. All through our deepest ruin, God's victorious love is opposed to man's reluctant hatred and despair, till at last they, being of the finite finite, and of the dead things of the universe dead, are shattered to pieces by persistent love; and the child, come to himself, calls out from the depths of a divine misery, "I will arise, and go to my Father." Far off his father sees him, and in triumphant joy receives him: "This my son was dead, and is alive again; was lost, and is found." It will be thus within eternity, till, in the fullness of charity, there shall be at last one flock and one shepherd.

Stopford Brooks.

GOD AND RELIGION, WORSHIP, PRAYER.

Religion recognizes and adores God as a being whom we know through our own souls; who has made man in his own image; who is the perfection of our own spiritual nature; who has sympathies with us as kindred beings; who is near us, not in place only, like this all-surrounding atmosphere, but by spiritual influence and love; who looks on us with parental interest; and whose great design it is to communicate to us forever, and in freer and fuller streams, his own power, goodness, and joy. The conviction of this near and ennobling relation of God to the soul, and of his great purposes toward it, belongs to the very essence of true religion.

Religion demands that he who is supreme in the universe should be supreme in the human soul. God, to whom belongs the mysterious and incommunicable attribute of Infinity; who is the fullness and source of life and thought, of beauty and power, of love and happiness; on whom we depend more intimately than the stream on the fountain, or the plant on the earth in which it is rooted,—this Great Being ought to call forth peculiar emotions, and to move and sway the soul, as he pervades creation, with unrivalled energy. It is his distinction, that he unites in his nature infinite majesty and infinite benignity, the most awful with the most endearing attributes, the tenderest rela-

tions to the individual with the grandeur of the universal sovereign; and, through this nature, he is fitted to act on the mind as no other being can,—to awaken a love more intense, a veneration more profound, a sensibility of which the soul knows not its capacity, until it is penetrated and touched by God. To bring the created mind into living union with the Infinite mind, so that it shall respond to him through its whole being, is the noblest function which this harmonious and beneficent universe performs. The Christian teacher is to make more audible, and to interpret, the voice in which the beauty and awfulness of nature,—the heavens, the earth, fruitful seasons, storms and thunder,—recall men to their Creator. His great purpose is to give vitality to the thought of God in the human mind; to make God's presence felt; to make him a reality, and the most powerful reality to the soul. The mind, in proportion as it is enlightened and penetrated by true religion, thirsts and labors for a godlike elevation. If I am capable of receiving and reflecting the intellectual and moral glory of my Creator, what else in comparison shall I desire?

Worship is man's highest end, for it is the employment of his highest faculties and affections on the sublimest object.

We have much to thank God for, but

for nothing so much as for the power of knowing and adoring himself. This creation is a glorious spectacle, but there is a more glorious existence for our minds and hearts, and that is the Creator. There is something divine in the faculties by which we study the visible world, and subject it to our wills, comfort and enjoyment. But it is a diviner faculty, by which we penetrate beyond the visible, free ourselves of the finite and the mutable, and ascend to the Infinite and the Eternal. It is good to make earth and ocean, winds and flames, sun and stars, tributary to our present well-being. How much better to make them ministers to our spiritual wants, teachers of heavenly truth, bonds of union between man and his Maker!

Wm. Ellery Channing.

"Out of the depths have I cried unto thee." I love those words. They have the mingled flavor of earth and heaven in them. "Out of the depths" men have cried unto God in all the ages, and been heard. And not with groans only, but with praises also, have "the depths" been filled. The saints who have passed through much tribulation have made them the hiding-places of their piety, and the peaceful skies have shot rays of light into those dark places. The elect of God have been educated there for a higher life. Men have become angels by passing through the deep, when the waters went over their heads and God was their only salvation.

Have you ever cried and not been heard? It is possible, for the cry must be wrung from the heart, not go up from the lips alone. There is prayer that is no prayer; prayer that has no efficiency, because it has no importunity; prayer that lacks meaning because it lacks faith. Communion of the soul with God, such is our definition of true prayer. Speaking is not praying. Neither is a life of active obedience prayer, though it has been so styled. Prayer is the intercourse of the soul with God through offices of faith and supplication. He who sends up the cry must have faith, perfect faith in God,—in God as one who is attentive to every want and every request of his creatures; not bound by his love for man to grant

every request with which he may be approached, for such an obligation would make divine power the dependent minister of the human will,—but ready and sure to arrange the discipline, if it may not be taken off, in the way most suited to benefit the sufferer, and even to yield him a better experience than exemption from the discipline would be. Man may not dictate the reply he shall receive, but he may rely on the divine compassion to do just that which is best for the suppliant, whether it be to remove the trial or send down strength to bear it. The cup did not, according to the terms of his prayer, pass undrained from him who was the best-beloved of the Father, but a peace such as the Father only could give settled upon his spirit.

Ezra Stiles Gannett.

Children, the Lord's prayer is a mighty prayer; ye know not what ye pray for in it. God is himself the Kingdom, and in that kingdom he reigns in all intelligent creatures. Therefore what we ask for is God himself with all his riches. In that kingdom does God become our Father, and manifests there his fatherly faithfulness and fatherly power. And insomuch as he finds place in us to work, is his name hallowed and magnified, and made known. That his name should be hallowed in us, means that he should reign in us, and accomplish through us his rightful work. And thus is his will done here on earth as it is in heaven; that is, when it is done in us as it is in himself, in the heaven which he himself is. Herein is his righteousness shown, that he abideth ever with those who heartily seek him, and make him their end, and give themselves up to him. In such he reigns, and all vain care falls away of itself in those who thus keep close to God in true self-surrender. We ought to worship God in all places and at all times. He who will worship the Father must concentrate his whole mind in aspiration and faith. These are the highest powers of the soul; for they are above time and know nothing of time or of the body. When these highest powers of the soul are thus gathered together in prayer, the soul becomes inspired, and if henceforth the spirit cleave unto God in an entire union of the

will, it is "made a partaker of the divine nature;" and then, for the first time, does the man offer up true worship, for he has attained the end for which he was created.

Doctor John Tauler, A.D. 1361.

Can he be said to be, in any proper sense, a religious man, who does not believe that God has any access to his soul, or care that he has any access to it, or who makes no dependence on God's help in his struggles with sin and his aspirations toward excellence? Why, even a dog can, in the inspiration of his master's presence, do what he is utterly unable to do alone. A child supported by the voice and eye of his mother is another being. And is a man, unconscious of God's eye and God's spirit, truly himself, or to be expected to be able to accomplish those moral and spiritual transformations, which convert the selfish into the disinterested, the passionate into the self-restrained, the vicious into the virtuous, the careless into the believing? * * * Man is, by his original constitution, a child of God, dependent for his support on his Father, dependent on him for his education and his setting up in the true life of the soul; and forgetting or denying this, he loses his courage, his confidence, his ability to make a true man of himself, and goes about like the prodigal, feeding with swine, an outcast and an alien. Away from God, he is in a most unnatural state—shorn of his strength, his wisdom, his only adequate guidance. * * * Suppose the miller, instead of opening the gate, and letting in the stream, should attempt to turn his wheel by main strength! This is what we do when we cease from prayer, fail to put our souls in communication with God, and to open our hearts to the glorious visitations of his power.

H. W. Bellows.

To the disciples when they besought the Master, "Teach us to pray," Jesus replied: "When ye pray, say, Our Father." All along down the ages, from Jesus' day to this, humble, burdened, sorrowing, trusting souls have been repeating the prayer, "Our Father," and finding in it inexpressible comfort and hope. At last the light of science shines on the

world, and men are advancing to a thought of God different from that which has been. But lo! I see men, women and children, everywhere, with upturned faces still saying, "Our Father," and no whit of the power or sweetness of the prayer is gone. But rather has it grown to a richer meaning than ever it had before; for now, with the better thought of God which is appearing, heaven comes down to earth as never before, and God, the All Father—the All Father because the Infinite Wisdom, and Power and Life—dwells no longer throned in solitary majesty in the far-off skies, but has his throne and dwelling place among men, here, everywhere, by every hearthstone, in the glory of every sunset cloud, amidst the petals of every opening flower, in the aspirations and yearnings of every human heart. Oh, the larger and sweeter, as well as worthier thought of God, which, with the passing away of superstition, and the growth of knowledge, is rising on our modern age! Not less, but vastly more, does it mean now, to bow the head and say "God," than it ever meant before.

"We say, 'Our Father,' when we wake:—

What with the sunrise seems to break
Through every flower like a surprise,
As if a thousand loving eyes
Looked out from sunbeams, buds and dew,

And said, 'He is Our Father, too.'

We, little children, stand and gaze
At the white evening star, whose rays
Beam down upon us like an eye
Forever open in the sky,—
Through the strange twilight asking
this

Of one another, 'Is it his?'

Who is he? That we cannot say.
He is. And by his side to stay,
To love him in the flowers and birds,
In dear home faces, tender words,
In all things beautiful and true,—
No more than this we ask to do.

Our Father, every day more dear
It seems to live with thee so near;
Thou carest for even the smallest star
And safe within thy heart we are.
If left alone on earth are we,
We are not orphans,—WE HAVE THEE!"

THOMAS HILL GREEN.*

[REPRINTED FROM "THE UNITARIAN,"]

BY ELIZABETH SANDERSON, PH.D.

It is generally understood, we believe, that Professor T. H. Green, of Oxford, furnished the original for the character of Mr. Grey, the Oxford tutor, in "Robert Elsmere." We can but hope that this belief will awaken so much new interest in the original, as to materially increase the number of readers of his collected works, the third and last volume of which has very recently been given to the public.

Professor Green has long been recognized by thinkers as one of the foremost writers in ethics and philosophy, of the century. This new volume of his works will add little if anything to his fame in these directions, since most of the philosophic articles it contains have appeared in print before. But the volume contains a carefully prepared memoir and, in addition to the philosophical articles, a very suggestive paper upon the "Value and Influence of Works of Fiction;" several able religious addresses, dealing, in a large way, with the history and central truths of Christianity; historical lectures; and papers upon political and educational questions; giving the author's matured views upon crucial problems of history, politics and education. All this will afford material for knowing the man, as well as a means of judging the quality of his work, and some sides of his thought which have been little known in this country.

Moreover, the volume will furnish an admirable introduction to his more definitely philosophic writing.

The memoir, which fills considerably more than a third of the volume, recognizes the fact that it deals with a life whose distinguishing characteristics were intellectual and spiritual; hence the stages and results of mental growth, not times, places, and physical environment, form its chief themes. The author, also an Oxford professor, says of this part of the book: "Its object is not to depict a heroic character or an eventful career, nor to popularize or criticise a philosophical system. It seeks merely to record a fact which has never been common, and which is especially rare in England, the fact of a life in which philosophy was reconciled with religion on the one side and with politics on the other; the life of a man to whom reason was faith made articulate, and for whom both faith and reason found their highest expression in good citizenship." High praise this to bestow on any man, and yet seemingly deserved in the present instance. "As a man," says the biographer further, "none had a truer love for social equality, or a higher sense of the dignity of simple human nature. A marked feature in his character was a serious sympathy with the wrongs and sufferings of the poor. All those social facts, such as the suffering caused by taxation, the necessity of peace to insure even a possibility of prosperity for the laboring classes, facts which recur

* Works of T. H. Green. Vol. III. Miscellaneous and Memoir. Longmans, Green & Co., London and New York. pp. 476.

rarely to the recollection, and never trouble the enjoyments, of most university men, were, I truly believe, constantly present to his mind." Out of such sympathy grew his deep interest in and practical efforts toward establishing a system of popular middle class grammar and high school education, and the opening of the universities to dissenters and the poorer classes. In a like broad sympathy was grounded his efforts to extend the rights of citizenship, holding as he did "that the duties and responsibilities of citizenship are essential to the development of self-respect, which is the true basis of respect for others, without which there is no lasting social order or real morality."

Next to interest in and practical effort for popular education, Mr. Green gave time and effort to the temperance question. Not originally a total abstainer, he became such from the conviction that the degradation and hopeless waste which the vice of drink produces demanded this of him as a preliminary to the most effective work for temperance. And a pronounced and effective worker he became, joining the United Kingdom Temperance Alliance, becoming its vice-president, also becoming treasurer of the Church of England Temperance Society, president of the Oxford Band of Hope Temperance Union, originator of a coffee tavern, and a lecturer and writer upon temperance who knew no class distinctions in his condemnation of the evils of drink.

Closely connected in Professor Green's mind with education and temperance, as a means to the moralization of the people, was the cheapening and purifying of parliamentary elections. And here, too, he added to his theories strong, vigorous, practical work, with voice and pen, to check the evils he deprecated, taking an eager part, even to the detriment of his already failing health, in

getting up a petition to unseat a member of Parliament from Oxford for bribery. The petition resulted in unseating the member, and in the appointment of a commission of inquiry into corrupt practices at Oxford.

And this man thus busy with all questions which touched vitally the life of the people was a college tutor and professor, and a writer and lecturer upon philosophy. What was the philosophy which could thus send the student from the quiet of his study again and again into the strife and turmoil of practical public life? As he interpreted Hegel, says his biographer, Mr. Green was a Hegelian. "The vital truth which Hegel had to teach," he took to be, "that there is one spiritual self-conscious Being, of which all that is real is the activity or expression: that we are related to this Being, not merely as parts of the world which is its expression, but as partakers, in some inchoate measure, of the self-consciousness through which this spiritual Being at once constitutes and distinguishes itself from the world; and that this participation is the source of morality and religion. The whole world of human experience is the self-communication or revelation of this spiritual, eternal, and absolute Being, and dependence upon and identity with such a Being constitutes at once the infinite littleness and the infinite greatness of man." "If in any true sense man can commune with the spirit within him, in the same way he may approach God as one who, according to the highest Christian idea 'liveth in him.'" "Man, however, is slow to recognize the divinity within him in his relation to the world. He will find the spiritual somewhere, but he cannot believe that it is the natural, rightly understood. What is under his feet and between his hands is too cheap and trivial," so he is apt to

think, "to be the mask of Eternal Beauty. He will draw up ideal truth from the deep or bring it down from heaven, but cannot believe that it is in and around him. Stretching out hands to an unknown God, he heeds not the God in whom he lives and moves and has his being. He cries for a revelation of God, yet will not be persuaded that His hiding-place is the intelligible world, and that He is incarnate in the Son of Man [humanity] who through the communicated strength of thought is lord also of the world." (This from the essay upon "The Philosophy of Aristotle.") To the question, Was Professor Green a Christian? his biographer answers: "If to be a Christian means that every man has God in him, that religion is the continual death of a lower and coming to life of a higher self, and that these truths were more vividly realized in thought and life by Jesus of Nazareth and some of his followers than by any other known men, then without doubt he was a Christian. If it means, to believe that the above truths depend upon the fact that Jesus was born and died under conditions impossible to other human beings, then without doubt he was not a Christian. To him the incarnation and resurrection could only mean that the divine spirit, the spirit whose activity is an eternal death into life and life out of death, is perpetually being manifested, in various degrees and under various forms, in all that is good in human experience." "The thought of God as not a God far off but nigh, not as a master but as a father, not as a terrible outward power, forcing us we know not whither, but as one of whom we may say that we are reason of his reason and spirit of his spirit, who lives in our moral life, and for whom we live in living for the brethren, in communion with whom we triumph over death and

have assurance of eternal life"—this was to professor Green the essence of Christianity. In his essay on "Christian Dogma" he shows how the God-consciousness which was in Jesus, and which he expressed in the words, "I and my Father are one," has passed, from its intuitive form in Jesus, through various transformations, partly of spiritualization and expansion, and partly of confusion and contraction; moreover he traces the stages of this transformation in the epistles of Paul and the gospel of John, in the writings of the church fathers and the decrees of councils, in scholastic philosophy and protestant theology, until it attains the ideal form of the "philosophic Christ," which is simply, to his mind, the recognition of the divine unity embodied in nature and humanity. And the end of this development Mr. Green holds to be the truth and fulfillment of the beginning. Jesus was one with the Father, not in any miraculous or supernatural way, not because his physical birth and death took place under conditions impossible to the normal human organization, but, on the contrary, because, having the normal human organization in its entirety, he realized in and through it his absolute union with God, and became in actual fact what all men have it in them potentially to become. The incarnation is not completed, the truth which Jesus proclaimed is not fully revealed, until the whole of mankind and the whole of nature become a perfect vehicle for the divine life which lived with unwonted fullness in him.

Such a personality, human and divine, natural and spiritual, the concentrated self-consciousness of all the laws of nature and all the aspirations of mankind, is the "ideal" Christ.

Holding such views as these, we are not surprised to learn that Professor Green, with a deeply religious nature,

and with a high estimate of the minister's calling, should have put aside the suggestion that he take orders in the established church, because of repugnance to formulas which he could not accept without compromising himself and misleading others, and that "only after some hesitancy did he bring himself to sign the thirty-nine articles in order to take the degree of A. M." His biographer quotes him as saying: "A modified Unitarianism suits me very well;" but, "though I admire and agree with the leaders of the unorthodox, I do not like the tone and spirit of their following." The latter utterance, together with his reverence for ordinances as helps to the religious life, probably explains the fact that he remained in the communion of the established church, although he did not disguise from himself that "the inability to adopt the received dogmatic expression of Christian faith" necessarily entails a certain amount of estrangement from Christian society.

We have dwelt thus long upon Professor Green's religious standpoint from the very natural pleasure it must always give to find our own convictions reinforced by those of so strong and clear a thinker.

This all too brief notice ought not to close without a further word upon the philosophic writings proper of Professor Green, since it is as a philosopher alone that he is widely known. The

two most important philosophic papers in the volume before us are one upon "The Philosophy of Aristotle," from which we have quoted above, and one upon "Popular Philosophy in its Relations to Life," meaning by popular philosophy the eighteenth century sensationalism of Locke, Berkeley and Hume. The latter is a remarkably strong and clear criticism of this philosophy from the practical side.

Prof. Green's more elaborate treatises, and those by which he is best known (published as "Works, Vols. I and II"), are an introduction to Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature*; an Examination of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*; and his latest work—lacking a few pages of completion at the time of his death in 1882,—entitled a "Prolegomena to Ethics," the outgrowth of a study of Aristotle's *Ethics*.

The consideration of these masterly productions does not lie within the province of this paper, but it is greatly to be hoped that the interest awakened by the appearance of this last volume of the complete works will call attention anew to the contents of the preceding volumes. We can but think that through such a philosophy as Professor Green represents, are to come restatements of religious truth such as shall help at least to stem the tide of modern materialism and indifferentism.

ELIZA R. SUNDERLAND.

DR. MARTINEAU'S "STUDY OF RELIGION."*

A SUMMARY OF THE ARGUMENT.

BY ELIZA R. SUNDERLAND. *Ph.D.*

Since the appearance, three years ago, of Dr. Martineau's masterly work,—*"Types of Ethical Theory,"*—the religious and philosophical worlds, alike, have awaited with deep interest the fulfilment of the promise then made, that the treatise upon Ethics would be followed by a kindred work upon Religion. That work is now given to the public under the above modest title. The two large volumes devoted to the discussion of the theme, are the ripe fruit of an unusually long life given by a master thinker to the solution of the kindred problems of Religion and of Philosophy. We can but think the final verdict of competent criticism will be to place this latest work of Dr. Martineau among the most valuable and permanent contributions of modern times to philosophic religious literature.

That the age greatly needs the voice and pen of such thinkers, and upon such themes, is patent to every one who has watched at all carefully the trend of contemporary thought. The great emphasis placed upon the physical sciences has had the effect in many quarters to depreciate everything not found in the realm of the physical, and to relegate to the field of the "Unknowable" whatever could not be touched and tasted, weighed and measured, that is, subjected to physical or sensible tests;—whatever, in a word, was not content to report itself in terms of matter. In such an atmosphere the subjects of philosophic thought and the objects of religious reverence alike, suffer eclipse

or depreciation; philosophy proper is described as fruitless speculation; and the meaning of the word *religion* is "watered down to the quality of the thinnest enthusiasm." God becomes merely a synonym for nature, the "laws of God" for "laws of nature," and anyone who recognizes law or regularity anywhere still has his God, and must not be called an atheist, though he finds in nature no trace of an ordering mind.

Against all such "watering down" of religion, Dr. Martineau enters an earnest protest. The religion whose "sources and contents" he proposes to study, he defines as "*Belief in an Ever-living God, that is, of a Divine Mind and Will, ruling the Universe and holding moral relations with mankind.*" Religion, thus defined, he regards as at once a mode of thought and a mode of feeling, these being not two things but two aspects of the same thing, which only an artificial analysis insists upon separating into two, calling the intellectual side a theology and the affectional side alone religion.

No believer in religion as a crucial power in human life and history, who is sufficiently trained to follow the argument through the depths of philosophic learning and thought into which it leads, should fail to read these masterly volumes; better still if all such will give them, not simply a reading, but a careful study.

The work, we are sure, will speedily find its way to the shelves of all of our more thoughtful and scholarly ministers; and it will also certainly be read with

**"A Study of Religion. Its Sources and Contents."*
By James Martineau, D. D., LL. D., 2 vols., pp. 800.
New York: Macmillan & Co.

deep interest by many of the broader and abler ministers in all religious bodies.

But the subject treated is of practical value to laity as well as clergy; and the rich treasure of logical acumen here devoted to a study of the "Sources and Contents of Religion," would, we are sure, be prized by many men and women whom lack of time, of money, or of literary preparation, will deter from attempting so large, expensive, and erudite a work. It has been thought that a brief summary of the argument of the volumes might be welcome to such, and might, in some cases at least, result in a study of Dr. Martineau's work at first hand.

The work naturally divides into six sections, namely:

(1) A Preliminary Section, the purpose of which is to investigate the conditions and limits of human knowledge in order to be able to answer the questions: *What can man know?* Can he know such transcendental objects as are included in the above definition of Religion? The latter being answered in the affirmative,

(2) The *Human Intellect* is questioned to see *what knowledge of God*, if any, it can furnish; and it is found to give knowledge of God as *Cause*.

(3) The *Moral Constitution* of man being interrogated in a similar manner declares the existence of a *God of Holiness*.

We have thus found the grounds of a philosophic Theism. But from a study of the same parts of man's nature, namely, the Intellect and the Conscience, other thinkers have deduced two systems of belief antagonistic to such a philosophic theism; these systems, therefore, and their claims to credence are examined under the heads: (4) *Pantheism*, and (5) *Determinism and Free Will*.

Finally a section is devoted to one of the most important of the satellite beliefs which are usually found attendant upon faith in a Supreme Being, namely: (6) *Immortality*.

Our summary will follow this order. In its preparation, free use has been made of Dr. Martineau's language

whenever that was available for the end in view, but knowing how difficult is the task of representing an author's exact thought given in a comprehensive treatise, by brief quotations, quotation marks have, as a rule, been omitted. Those who wish to be sure of Dr. Martineau's precise phraseology at any point, therefore, will need to consult the work itself. No pains has been spared, however, to reproduce the author's general line of thought and argument as exactly as possible within so limited compass.

PRELIMINARY. THE CONDITIONS AND LIMITS OF HUMAN KNOWLEDGE.

Having defined religion as "*Belief in an Ever-living God, that is, of a Divine Mind and Will ruling the Universe and holding Moral relations with mankind*," the purpose of the "Study" is declared to be "to find in the constitution of human nature the inmost seat of this belief."

But at the very threshold of a study of religion as thus defined we are met by a philosophic question concerning the form and conditions of knowledge. "An Ever-living God," "a Divine Mind and Will," "Moral relations between that Will and mankind," all these are transcendental themes, not reporting themselves through the senses, and not capable of definition in terms of physical science. Can man, therefore, know them in any such sense as to justify religious belief?

What is knowing? A kind of thinking; yet not all thinking is knowing, but only that kind which reports itself in the form of judgments. Of the two forms of judgment, the Analytic and Synthetic, only the latter proves adequate as an instrument for acquiring new knowledge; but on analyzing a synthetic proposition we find that it resolves itself into variations of sense-perceptions or affections, and thus cannot give us knowledge of things external to itself. Is there any means of getting beyond the self in our knowing? If not, religion, as defined by Martineau, is an impossibility, since the mind cannot believe in what is absolutely beyond its knowledge. In the investigation of

this question of knowing, our author brings before us in critical review the theories of such thinkers as Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Helmholtz and the Mills, father and son. Each of these philosophers, going to the human mind with this question of knowing, finds in the deliverances of that mind, not only mental states,—sensation, perception, etc.,—but a recognition of the ego and the non ego, i. e., a self and other than self (or an objective as well as a subjective world); a here and a there, or space; a now and a then, or time; phenomena and their cause, or causality; qualities, and the substance in which they inhere. Can these deliverances of the human mind be trusted? Are all these,—an external world, time, space, causality,—anything more than ideas in the mind itself, and is there any proof that there is any external reality corresponding to them more than to the mental deliverances in dreams? A careful analysis of the answer and grounds of the answer given by each of the writers named, together with an independent study of mental activity in an act of perception, leads our author to the conclusion that mind, the self, the ego, can know both self and other than self, an external object as well as internal subject.

Having thus disengaged ourselves from the self-enclosure of subjective idealism, and owned the presence of objects not made by our own consciousness, what then? Though the outer world be no dream of our thought, but a real scene, conditioning our experience and affected by it, still what guarantee have we that it is what our belief represents it to be? It is possible to say that that world can tell us only what our ways of thinking are shaped to admit. Our minds being constituted as they are, we think in our present fashion; were they constituted otherwise, we should think in a different fashion, though beyond us no corresponding change were made. We should in each case be liable to feel the same intuitive certainty; yet in one of them, perhaps in both, the trust would be illusory. The possibility thus suggested that

even our ultimate principles of cognition may be out of joint with reality and justify no predications about things as they are, has found a place both in ancient and modern philosophic writing. Appearing in various forms, as "Man the measure of all things," "All we know is phenomena," and the Spencerian doctrine of the "Unknowable," all the varieties may be summed up under the general head of the *Relativity of Human Knowledge*. The grounds of this doctrine Dr. Martineau proceeds to investigate; premising, however, that whatever efficiency the law of relativity may be supposed to have (as a caution against an illusory pretense of knowledge) must, in its application, tell impartially on the *whole field* claimed by the human intellect. It subjects our *sensible* apprehensions to precisely the same insecurity as our postulates of *thought*; so that our readings of *phenomena* have not the least advantage over our underlying *ontological beliefs*. If I am at the mercy of my own intellectual constitution when I trust my idea of *space*, of *substance* or of *cause*, and of my moral constitution when I accept the reality of *obligation*, I am no less at the mercy of my percipient constitution when I register as facts *the forms, the weights, the features, the movements of the physical world*.

In all knowledge there must be two factors, a person to know and a thing to be known, and the knowledge resulting is the mode in which the constitution of the latter affects the faculty of the former. Knowledge is therefore a *relation* between the knowing subject and the known object and *knowing is relationing in thought*. Of course these definitions shut the mind off from knowing what cannot enter into thought relations. To talk of "knowing" "things in themselves," or "things as they are," is to talk of not simply an impossibility, but a contradiction; for these phrases are invented to denote what is in the sphere *being* and not in the sphere of *thought*; and to suppose them "known" is *ipso facto* to take away their assumed character. In like manner to talk of knowing the *absolute*

involves a contradiction in terms, since *the absolute* means the *unrelated* and knowing is *relationing*. In being known, therefore, the absolute would cease to be the absolute. But in being debarred from knowing the absolute we are not debarred from knowing *noumenon*, and *this*, not the absolute, is the antithesis of *phenomenon*. A phenomenon is an *observed change*. To be a phenomenon therefore it must be observed or known. And it is further true that without phenomenon nothing could be known, since without change both the mind within us and the world before us would be locked in an eternal sleep, in which neither could communicate with the other. But this is not the same as saying that all we can know is phenomena. In making us aware of the changes in and around us, phenomena can and do in every instance make us also acquainted with a *permanent ground*, the correlative of changes, without which they cannot be conceived, which is contained in their very meaning, and which has all the certainty belonging, not simply to their actual occurrence, but to their possibility. We know the changes by their turning upon this permanent: we know the permanent by the changes that break its uniformity: one and the same intellectual act therefore puts us in the presence of phenomenon and noumenon, change and permanence.

Even Herbert Spencer admits that it is impossible to present phenomena in thought or language without the assumption of entities to which they are related; especially without referring them to a Cause or Power whence they issue. Nay the very conception of them as Relative, and of relativity itself, he holds, involves at the other terminus of the way, the *Absolute* as a necessary cognition. He does not question the reality of these noumena; our thought, he says, does not delude us in its report of their existence; but there its capacity stops. We know *that* the absolute power is, but not *what* it is? But is it possible to have assurance of a real existence, which yet remains to the end an utter blank? By calling this existence a *Power*, surely Mr. Spencer re-

moves it by one mark from the unknowable. But further he says we are obliged to regard that power as "omniscient," as "eternal," as "one," as "cause manifested in all phenomena," a list of predicates which surely leaves it no longer "unknowable."

Having thus examined the modern doctrine of nescience or agnosticism with regard to metaphysical truth in its three forms: viz., the *idealism* which limits our knowledge to the interior line of our own consciousness; the principle of the *relativity of knowledge*; and the maxim that all *we can know is phenomena*; Mr. Martineau concludes that in no instance has the attempt proved satisfactory to explain away or render untrustworthy the intuitive beliefs which are the concomitants and conditions of our phenomenal experience.

With reference to the value of these intuitive beliefs, or of the intuitive witness borne by consciousness to the presence of a world beyond the contents of that consciousness, Mr. Martineau calls attention to a marked change in the canons of philosophical judgment. Till the middle of the last century the ultimate security of our knowledge was assumed to rest upon a few given or intuitive cognitions, not preceding experience, but elicited by our first experience and shaping it into a judgment. It was generally agreed that, if any judgments could be shown to be original and intuitive, their authority must be considered beyond question, and what they told us be valid for the reality of things. Accordingly if a philosopher desired to weaken their authority, he proceeded—like Locke and Hume—to strip them of their *a priori* or intuitive pretensions, and reduce them to empirical rank. This is still the method most in favor with the English empirical school, which is a virtual admission that if a judgment is to be impeached, it must be shown to be fabricated by experience, and that, so long as it can hold its ground as *intuitive*, it is entitled to be believed. Here we have a healthy faith remaining in the veracious structure of the human mind, and a

willingness to trust its verdict so long as that verdict can be really had. Since the time of Kant, however, a different canon has prevailed in Germany, and wherever the German philosophy has been dominant. Kant treated the *subjective* character of intuitions as their *condemnation*.

They are forms, he held, in which we are made to think, and into which we must cast whatever of thought material is given us; they supply the law of our perceptive and intellectual life, and maintain it as a consistent and coherent system in itself; but that anything real corresponds with these forms, which lie in us and not in the world, we have not the smallest reason to believe. To this Mr. Martineau answers: Neither have we the smallest reason to *disbelieve*: and *that*, as has been shown in a previous chapter, is indispensable for the justification of metaphysical skepticism. To demand a *reason* for assent to a *primary* belief is to insist that it shall not be primary, but secondary. It is certainly impossible to *prove* that our thinking functions are organized in right relations with the scene in which they feel and act; and if any one chooses to suppose that they are sources of mere illusion, he must be allowed to enjoy his humor. But the older presumption will still prevail, that what is inevitably thought is in accord with what really is; and that intelligence is not the mere creator of a dream. Our true course, therefore, is to avail ourselves of the empirical psychology to the limits of its honest analysis of acquired combinations; and beyond these limits to trust, as valid intuitions, the residual beliefs inherent in our mental constitution.

The conclusions to which we have thus been led are: (1) That the two sources of knowledge are intuitions and experience; (2) That the former are primary beliefs, elicited by experience, and entitled to the same reliance as the phenomena apprehended with them in one act of thought; (3) That through intuition the mind transcends the limits of self-knowledge and finds access to realities not apprehensible by sense-perception alone.

The way is thus open to the inquiry, What can the mind discover as to the one great central object of religious belief, namely, an Ever-living God holding moral relations to man?

All religion resolves itself into a conscious relation, on our part, to a higher than we; and, on the part of the rational universe at large, to a higher than all, i. e., to a mind supreme above the whole family of minds. The conditions of such Supremacy are two-fold,—(1) Dynamical, consisting in the command of all methods needful for the accomplishment of contemplated ends. (2) Moral, consisting in the intrinsic ascendancy of the highest ends, infallibly conceived and externally pursued, as the springs of the divine Will. In treating of the former we have to do chiefly with the relation of God to *Nature*,—the sole theatre of any possible power that can be supposed to limit or dispense with His. In treating of the latter, we deal with His relation to *Man*, and in a secondary degree to the other sentient beings of our globe,—as the only sphere open to our observation in which character can play a part, and a righteous government appear. These two fields really exhaust all that we can seek or really desire to know of things divine; for although to these two aspects, of God as *Cause*, and God as *Holy*, we might add a third, of God as *Judge*, in order to determine the question of a life reserved for us beyond death, yet this is evidently an integral portion of the moral problem embraced under the second head. The two great problems before us, then, are, Do we find in nature traces of God as Cause, and in human nature and life similar proofs of the existence of a God of Holiness?

To Dr. Martineau's discussion of these two problems we now proceed.

WHAT THE INTELLECT CAN TELL US OF GOD; OR GOD AS CAUSE.

Do we find in nature traces of a great First Cause, adequate for the needs of religion?

The idea of cause has possessed and engaged the human mind in every reflective age since the dawn of philosophic literature. In this literature the

causal idea has appeared under at least three distinct forms, namely: Thing as Cause; Phenomenon as Cause, and Force as Cause. The claims of each must be considered.

If by *Thing* we denote whatever has definite position in space, the word belongs to whatever holds geometrical relations; and as these subsist wherever there are points, lines, and surfaces, with their angles and enclosures, things might be present in a world where no motion was. In a scene thus dead, however partitioned by marking objects, no one can pretend to find a *source of change*, i. e. a *real cause*. The tendency to invest external things as such, with causality, is traced back to the metaphysics of an earlier age, but was intensified by the influence of Spinoza, who treated logical necessity as identical with cause. But except as the seat of *change*, or partner in a *change*, no "thing" can ever play the part of *cause*.

Is it then a sufficient correction, to disregard things, as such, and seek cause in *another Phenomenon*, so that the relation shall be between two homogeneous members of the same series, differing simply as constant prior from constant posterior? This is the doctrine of Hume, Brown, the Mills, and the empirical psychologists, generally, of England; of Kant in Germany; of Comte in France. They all reduce causality to a rule of time-succession traceable in the order of phenomena. Mr. Martineau, after reviewing the mode of reasoning by which Kant and others arrive at this time-succession idea of causality, by both reasoning and illustrations invalidates the theory, and proves that something else is necessary than order among phenomena before the mind sets up the belief of cause and effect.

That something else is *Force or Power*. This form of the idea of causality is discussed at length, with the objections which have been urged against it. The conclusion reached is, that *Power* is postulated by the understanding as the operative condition of any and all change. So that the dynamic idea clings to causality throughout.

And this is *all* of the *necessary* content of the causal idea so long as cause and effect are contemplated by us as *spectators*. But from a position of mere receptivity, or of contemplative intelligence, man could never attain the idea of causality. Not till he throws himself into the field as an *actor* or *doer* can he find the problem and try to solve it. The attempt to study causality from this experimental side leads to an analysis of an act of perception.

The arm is flung out towards the measure of its length; it is arrested by a book upon the table; if the initiative impulse is lively, it will not be balked, but redoubling itself will push the obstacle away and so complete itself. The contrast between the first pure spontaneity and the counteraction it receives, and again between the two intensities of energy on the change half-way, reveals itself at once in the moment of collision; for it is the impediment that serves as tell-tale of the free energy it stops. When the check is defied and thrown off, the movement assumes a new character and is thenceforth delivered over to the will. The fundamental discovery opened upon us in this experience is the dualism of the *self* and the *other than self*, both of which start into the field and divide between them the contents of the percipient lesson. The arrested spontaneity, the attention turned upon the new feeling, the determined effort to persist in the movement, these we recognize as ours; while that which gives the feeling, and that which receives the energy are something other than ourselves. We are thus born into self-consciousness in the moment of disputed spontaneity, and instantly assert ourselves by taking into our own hands the power which before was only passing through our nature. And as it is a shock of interrupted feeling that gives us notice to do this, the feeling must have the same owner as the power; and both are necessarily referred to one point and taken home to the Ego henceforth known as the subject both of the sensory store and of the forms of activity. These two heads exhaust all the possible contents of the Ego; all else

than these contents is embraced in the non-Ego.

This one comprehensive antithesis gives account of several other truths besides that of the distinction between the self and the not self, viz: of Causality, internal and external; of Space,—*here* for the self, *there* for the not self; of Time (after more than one perception); and of self-identical existence or Substance in antithesis with changing Phenomena,—and all these, not as sequent inferences from the percipient act, enriching it by new discoveries, but as *contained in its own meaning*, yet admitting of separate expression. Of these, the most obvious is the relation of *cause and effect*, the cradle of which we here reach.

It is evident that if the foregoing exposition be correct, the Ego and non-Ego are known to us *ab initio* as reciprocally limiting powers put forth by antagonistic agents, and causing changes in some recipient object. If I know myself at all, it is in *trying* with all my might to do something needed but difficult, as for example to heave away a retarding resistance. While thus withstood and yet determined to persist rather than desist, I am conscious of exercising a causal Will to institute or sustain efficient movement. Here, as Dr. Martineau thinks (and he quotes other philosophic writers of note as sustaining the opinion) our first notions of causality are formed. "We ourselves," says Zeller, "are the one only cause, of whose mode of action we have immediate knowledge through inner intuition. For his notion of causality, man is at the outset guided by no other clue than the analogy of his own willing and doing."

If we are thus absolutely dependent, continues Dr. Martineau, on this single inner intuition, for knowledge of what causality is, it must fill and constitute our whole idea of it and of the way in which effects arise; nor can anything ever be added to it, as there are no other sources which can tell us anything about it. It determines the meaning of the word *cause*, and determines it forever. That meaning is power in the form of

Will. When by an *a priori* axiom of the understanding we apply this causal relation to the external world, in the act of perception, we must carry this meaning too. Through such act of perception as has been analyzed we are introduced to the world, not as to a dead thing, or a material aggregate of things, but to another self, just as causal as we, instinct with hidden Will, and so far presenting the outer and inner spheres in true equipoise.

In the dualism, then, which perception opens to us, we are placed under an irrepealable thought-necessity of the following kind: Here at home in the Ego, we have first hand acquaintance with Causality; and we find it to be Will. In the reaction of objects upon us we know their resistance to be simply the inverse or opposite of our own causality, and so we recognize in them the same attribute (causal Will) by which we ourselves have moved forth upon them. Not till we put forth and direct our own causality, whether simply percipient or motory, have we revelation of the causality of the world; and our immediate feeling of operative Will in the exercise of our own causality, we, by a necessary law of thought, reflect and must ever reflect upon the outer world. Since Will is necessarily identical with the inmost essence of the sole causality known to thought, we cannot do otherwise than read Will into the causality manifested by the non-Ego, as what would be stirring in us, if we could change places with it. Cause, then, means that which can settle an alternative, viz., a disposing Will, by Will being meant *choice between two alternative directions of activity*.

This ultimate identity of meaning in the words Cause and Will, and the dependence of the former upon the immediate consciousness of the latter, are indirectly attested by the frequent recurrence of even the most practiced scientific intellects to the springs of human action as the true key to the dynamics of outward nature; and yet in one respect the language of science seems at first sight to contradict the idea of *one* causal Will in nature. The

text-books of science speak of a *plurality* of forces, while our psychological analysis has given *one* Will in the outer world as the antagonist of the Will in the conscious Ego. Yet even this seeming contradiction promises to disappear under the law of "The Conservation of Forces."

The question still presses, however, how can we work out with a single cause, an adequate explanation of nature's diversified effects? Homogeneous power will account for nothing in particular, because accounting for all things alike. If we refer everything to Divine Will, and define Will as "choice between two alternatives" we have not explained why one is taken and the other left. In this respect the phenomenal theory of causation would seem to have the advantage, save for the more serious defect, that, in the phenomenal theory, there is involved *no idea of causality at all*. The difficulty we are trying to meet is how to account for the initial step, in the causal process, out of the indeterminate into the determinate. But this the mechanical theory of causality finds as great a difficulty as does the dynamic. Beginning with "thing" or "phenomenon" as cause, there must be a cause of that cause, and you start upon a process to which there can be no end except by arbitrarily cutting off further retreat by setting up a definite somewhat to start from. In assuming intelligent Will as the given starting point, we have at least provided something which we know, and which *seems* to have precisely what we want, the power of determining the contingent, of selecting among possibles that which shall become actual. As a personal decision is felt to explain an act and leave no more to be said, so is an eternal living Will the simplest conception we can form of the Universal Cause, itself uncaused.

Another practical question may arise just here, namely: How are we to reconcile scientific generalizations with this dynamic theory of causation? Light will be thrown upon this question by tracing the natural history of the causal idea. We find primitive man, in con-

formity with the primitive intuition, ascribing every conspicuous change on the earth or in the heavens, or in the lot of those around him, to a distinct and definite act of a will-directed power. All nature was at first alive with immediate volitional power, which was classed as propitious or adverse according as it brought good or ill to man. But this state of things could not continue. It was seen that the same act or object might produce mixed or even opposite effects on human beings; some other classification must be sought, and in the seeking came the grouping of phenomena, replacing multifarious and fluctuating volitions by a few great lines of purpose, designated later as laws. Every law represents one thought, and is the explicit unfolding of one comprehensive and standing volition; it constitutes therefore a single genus of power, which will not swerve till all its contents be delivered. In relation to its origin, it is still an act of Will settling what was indeterminate before; in relation to its effects it is a dynamic constant, an invariable necessity, and, when we look away from its source, it is a *force of nature* which can be depended upon to lend itself to our computation. Thus what in one aspect is a *Divine Idea* in another is a *natural force*; and it is simply by forgetting the upper relation and shutting our attention up within the lower, that we pass from the free religious conception to the ministrative and scientific.

But, the Force having taken the form of a general law, what is it that determines the phenomenon to happen so and so and not otherwise, under this law? The results of the law are now calm, now stern, now life, now death; why? Plato found answer by resorting to a dualism which involved the eternity of matter. Without such resort, answer may be found on purely volitional ground in the mingling encounter of many dynamic acts which together would constitute a vast assemblage of powers, each of which would yield its own series of effects, and the actual phenomena as we see them in the universe to-day would be the resultant of these crossing or in-

intersecting powers. We thus gain the idea of the *conditions* of an event as supplementary to its cause. The visible processes of the natural world thus bear the same relation to its originating mind that our linked and co-ordinated organic movements, in accomplishing a purpose determined upon by us, bear to our volitional causality.

Thus by the education of nature itself, the human mind is led over the whole interval between its earliest habit of seeing distinct and separate deities in each object and activity of nature, and its latest version of scientific generalization and causation, without being called on to part from the essence of its original faith. From Will at the fountain head not a single thing is wrested at any stage of the process; only the inner acts of that Will are thrown into a new order, are reduced to a few comprehensive heads, and organized into a system, of which the sciences are the reflection in little. The emergence from superstition which marks this process consists, not in the *expulsion* of *purpose* from any scene which it occupied before, but in the substitution of *larger* purpose for less, of *plan* for *impulse*. And as the primitive power has not been lost on the way, neither has any other been found; so that we are still in presence of the originating Mind, whose organizing thoughts are prototypes of the rules of nature.

In counting off each mode of force as if it were a single creative volition, we have assimilated our conception of the Supreme Mind to that of a perfect scientific intellect; that is to say, we find ourselves in the presence of a Being who thinks out the universe, the general laws of which form the methods and calculus of his mind. But is this all? Such a world would comply with *one* of the marks of Will, it would constitute a determinate system selected from indeterminate possibilities; but two other marks would be wanting, namely, its independent lines of action would converge upon no *end* beyond themselves, for the sake of which we must conceive them to be; and, there could be no *subordination* of *minor* to *major* ends,

forming the scheme into a *hierarchy of good*. These additional marks, however, are not wanting in the universe. In the mechanical and chemical departments of nature the relation between means and ends is still inchoate and obscure; as soon, however, as we enter the field of *organic* existence, and especially when we reach *sentient* beings, such real individualities are distinctly set up that it is impossible not to allow each to carry its own end in itself, for the sake of which (as well as to serve the whole) it has been brought upon the scene. Conscious intelligences, then, are the consummation of the forces and activities of terrestrial nature, the *end* to which all *lead up*. Thus all nature stands before us replete with marks of causal volition. The *laws* of nature are *volitional methods*; *sentient beings* are *volitional ends*, reached through many gradations of subordinate ends.

To discover how far nature in its entire extent carries marks of volitional, that is purposeful, causality, is the object of Teleology, or the so-called Argument from Design. To this inquiry Dr. Martineau gives something over a hundred pages, discussing the place of teleology, teleological theism, the alleged blemishes in nature which would seem to disprove the argument from design, and the objection to teleology on the ground of its being anthropomorphic.

Having attempted thus far to set forth, and to surround with adequate protection, the first psychological source of Theism, namely, the recognition of a living Will as cause of the phenomena of the world, our author now asks us to accept this position as determined, and to pass into its interior and examine what its contents are. What does it enable us to say respecting the Being whom it reports to us as an ascertained object of thought?

1. To identify original Causality with God is to ascribe to him *all power*, for the terms are interchangeable. And by this we must mean that he is mighty for absolutely all things. This results from the principle with which we start. All causality being volitional and selective, the line of realized action (i. e.,

the universe as it now exists) is only one out of a plurality of possibilities, and the cosmos which has come into being is but a sample of an unknown number that might have been.

2. *Unity* as well as universal power must be reckoned among the attributes of this causal Divine Will, since, among other reasons, the very idea of a world or universe, as a whole, is rigorously impossible, except on the assumption of a substantive unity incompatible with diverse origins and independent directions.

3. We must declare God to be *intelligent*; for the pre-conception of ends and the realization of them by the apparatus of appropriate means are the characteristics of rational existence.

4. We must also include *infinity* among His attributes, not, however, as a direct but as an indirect inference. The cosmos we cannot affirm to be infinite, hence we cannot infer from it as an effect the infinitude of God as Cause. From this we can only speak of the Divine perfections as indefinitely great. But we have predicated space as the self-existent *condition* of the primary Causality, and space we can affirm to be infinite; and as it is impossible to maintain a disparity of scope between the cause and the condition of all things, they share the same dimensions; so that, though we cannot directly infer the infinitude of God from a limited creation, indirectly we may exclude every other position by resort to its unlimited scene of existence.

5. By a similar method we may justify the *eternity* of God as Cause. If there was ever a time in which as yet this cause was not, it has *come into being* and is therefore only a phenomenon or effect, which is a simple contradiction. Its existence, as other than phenomenon, is its essential feature as a causal explanation of phenomena; it cannot therefore have had a beginning, but must always have been; nor can it have an end, for this also would reduce it to a phenomena.

To sum up, then, the results reached through the principle of Causality: There is one universal Cause, the infin-

ite and eternal seat of all Power, an omniscient Mind, ordering all things for ends selected with perfect wisdom.

In seeking the basis of religious belief in the constitution of human nature, we have thus far interrogated only the intellectual faculties, and these have given us one universal Cause, the infinite and eternal seat of all power, and an omniscient Mind ordering all things for ends selected with perfect wisdom. Were we simply intellectual free agents, devoted wholly to the study of external nature, here our religious apprehensions would stop. But man is something more than an intellectual, he is also a moral, being, and the moral side of his constitution must now be consulted. If there be a world beyond the Ego, material for perception, intellectual for thought, moral and spiritual for conscience, evidently it can be apprehended only through its relation to these powers. If it is there to speak at all, it is to them it must speak, and their report will be our only source of information. That report is called an *intuition*. We have seen what it gives us in the case of volitional experience, namely: an *objective causality*; by a parallel presentation in the case of moral experience we shall find that it gives us an *objective authority*; both alike being objects of immediate knowledge, on the same footing of certainty as the apprehension of the external world; there being no logical advantage which the belief in finite objects around us can boast over the belief in the Infinite and Righteous Cause of all.

The fundamental form which the Moral Intuition takes was fully treated in "Types of Ethical Theory" and is therefore only briefly treated in the present work. Its essential characteristics are the following: Whenever two incompatible springs of action simultaneously urge us, there is an attendant consciousness of superior excellence in one of them; an excellence not in point of pleasure or advantage which it were wise to take; not in respect to seemliness and beauty which it were tasteless to decline; but in the scale of *right*, which, in carrying our assent, commands

our obedience. All these kinds of superiority it is open to us to disregard, but at the cost, in the first two cases merely of personal inferiority; in the third, of a mysterious and haunting disloyalty. Accusing ourselves of this, we are aware that our offence is not a private mistake to be settled with in our home account, but one that looks beyond ourselves and infringes rights that are not our own; and we are visited by more than shame at failure, or regret at folly; we are cast down in severe compunction under a very different sense of *guilt*. The superior terms in the scale of values which appeal to the conscience do not court us by their charms and graces, but claim us by their *authority*; tell us that we *ought* to follow them; that they are *binding* on us; that in neglecting them we *sin*; that they are offered to our option by a *Higher than we*. To conform our voluntary life to the preferential scale of obligation, as it emerges into consciousness, is our *duty*, for the observance of which we are *responsible*. This is the circle of ideas in which the conscience lives and moves, and which supplies the moral nature with a sphere of cognition special to itself. These ideas are intelligible to all men; they flow into every language and give it half its force and fire; they are the preamble of all law, and the pervading essence of the higher religions. These ideas are uniform in all men,—the seeming discrepancies of ethical judgment clearing themselves away as we push back the comparison from external actions to the internal springs, and see that the same problem is really present to the differing minds. In proportion as the springs of action have strength within us according to their worth, are we at peace with ourselves and conscious of a secret harmony. And by the same rule it is that we estimate each other, pouring indignation on the man whom no call of compassion can snatch from his selfish ease; watching with enthusiasm the hero from whose lips no terror can extract a betrayal or a lie; looking up with reverence to the saintly mind in which all discords cease and the higher affections reign without dispute.

Now, what means this scale of relative excellence which gives an order of rank to our various impulses, and frames them into a hierarchy, with the moral at the summit? Since these impulses exist, have they not all a right to be? And are they not all on equal footing? What entitles any one of them to put on airs towards its companions and to claim superiority?

One step in the determination of this question can be taken without challenge. The moral order is not arbitrary, in the sense of being a personal accident, or individual prejudice; it exists irremovably in each, and with consensus in all. This is the peculiarity of all properly moral verdicts, that they are not the expression of individual opinions, which we work out for ourselves by sifting of evidence; but the *enunciation of what is given us ready-made*, and has only to *pass through us into speech*. We may indeed debate within ourselves the claims presented in this or that line of outward action, because the choice of action has to be determined not by the principle that issues it, but by the effects that follow it. These are amenable to the calculus of the understanding, without resort to which the action cannot be rational; but, so long as the prior problem is before us, of securing the right spring of conduct, we have nothing to seek by logical process, but only to give forth what we find. In other words the intuition of conscience is: that the moral law is *imposed by an authority foreign to our personality*, and is open not to be canvassed but only to be *obeyed* or *disobeyed*.

What is that foreign authority which thus demands our allegiance? "It is an embodiment of public opinion, an ideal aggregate of sentiment made up of all the praise and blame which men bestow on what helps or hurts their interests." So answer one class of writers, including such names as Hobbes and James Mill. The arguments by which this school of men attempt to prove that the Moral Law is nothing but the grotesque shadow of public opinion looming fearfully upon our thought, is fully examined by Dr.

Martineau, and the conclusion reached that "The springs of action are not differed by men's interested preferences among them; but have an order of claim which is sealed in the constitution of things, and belongs to them wherever they appear on the theatre of a voluntary nature; these inherent differences are reported to us and urged upon us by some *objective power*, with which their validity is *identified*, and the self-interest of society is *not* that power."

Whither, then, shall we turn to find this objective power? Dr. Martineau answers in a dozen carefully reasoned pages which we summarize (of course inadequately) as follows: The cognitions we gain through the ordinary exercise of the senses, are perfectly analogous in their mode of origin, to those which come to us through the moral faculty. In the act of perception we are immediately introduced to an *other than ourselves that gives what we feel*: in the act of conscience we are introduced to a *Higher than ourselves that gives us what we feel*. The externality in the one case, the authority in the other, the causality in both, are known upon exactly the same terms, and carry the same guarantee of their validity. The dualism of perception, which sets ourselves in the face of an objective world, and the dualism of conscience which sets us in the face of an objective Higher Mind are perfectly analogous in their grounds. It is the specific sense of *Duty* that constitutes a dual relation. This cannot belong to a soul *in vacuo*, but must be forever a disconsolate and wandering illusion till it *rests with Him to whom the allegiance belongs*. In other words the Moral Law reaches its integral meaning when seen as *impersonated in a Perfect Mind*, which communicates it to us, and lends it power over our affections sufficient to draw us into Divine communion.

The form which theism assumes when developed from this source differs widely from that which is given by the principle of Causality. There the Divine scene was outward in the cosmos; here, it is inward in the human soul. There the Divine agency was seen in natural

law: here, it is seen in the moral law. There, consequently, its order was that of invariable necessity: here, it is that of variable possibility and freedom. There, it presented its intellectual affluence of purpose and resource: here, it reveals its supreme idea and character. And what are the attributes of the Divine agency as revealed by conscience?

I. God, relatively to us, is now identical with our *Highest*, the eternal life of Moral Perfection. Hence, we cannot but ascribe to him *Benevolence towards sentient beings*; *Justice toward moral beings*, i. e., a treatment of them according to character; and *Amity towards like minds*, however vast the moral distance between them.

II. But the revelations of our moral nature do not close here. Through it we discover that God stands in *one relation to all human beings*, giving the same warnings, ordaining the same strife, inviting the same affections, breathing the same inspirations. Hence, the knowledge of Him and the life in Him, emerge from the level of a solitary faith, and become a principle of union; and our united human life is recognized as constituting a *Kingdom of God*; life has no binding laws that are not His; no offenses that are not sins; no just penalties that are not expressions of His Will; no noble passages of history that are not the march of His advancing Providence.

We have now sought an origin for our primary religious ideas on two sides of our nature, the Intellectual and the Moral, and found an Infinite Will, first in the principle of Causality, then in the intuitions of Conscience. From the first, we obtained as attributes of the Divine Nature, Intelligence, Power, Self-Existence; from the second, Benevolence, Justice, Holiness, and sovereign Government of men. Each brings us to the presence of an Eternal Being.

But are these Beings *one and the same*? What we find true of the Creator may we affirm of the Righteous Judge? and what we say of the Highest, may we apply to the Architect of Worlds? Have we any sufficient reasons for identifying the Causal God with the

Holy God? Yes; these at least: 1. We ourselves unite, in our own persons, a subjection to both the outward physical order and to the inward moral law, in a way which baffles all attempt to discriminate them as two factors combined as the result of partnership. We are, on one hand, *natural objects*, on the other, *moral beings*; indeed our very probation, as moral, consists in managing ourselves as animal. 2. Our instinctive springs of action are themselves awakened by the external world and have reference to aspects and changes there. Conscience, with all its insight, can think nothing and do nothing in empty space; it waits for the data of life and humanity; and all its problems are set by the conditions of the world. 3. That external nature is not foreign to the system of moral laws, is further evident from the fact that, to a considerable extent, it administers their retribution and enforces their discipline; witness the ruined health of the intemperate, the repulsive physiognomy of the selfish. Thus the end toward which moral and physical laws, alike, look and work, are ethical, and the Divine Causality places itself at the disposal of the Divine Perfection: *eternal Thought moves in the lines of eternal Holiness*.

But is this conclusion verified when carried into the sphere of outward things? The scheme of things in which we live admits: (1) of suffering,—pains from want, pains of decline, pains from the physical elements, pains from the predaceous mode of life;—it admits (2) of moral evil or sin, and (3) it is charged with exhibiting the at least seeming abandonment of human history to the conflicts of rude force; can these things be reconciled with our recognition of an infinite moral perfection in the constitution and administration of the world? To many readers no part of Dr. Martineau's exhaustive treatise will have so vital interest as the eighty pages in which these objections to the belief in a moral order in the universe are answered and the belief justified. We can do no more than hint at their contents.

I. The possibilities of pain inherent

in the organism are of two kinds: those which as wants—hunger, thirst, fatigue,—work the organism, and those which set in at last when the organism can no longer be worked. Of the former all can see the reason and value. The uneasiness of appetite and passion trains the animal to mastery over the world, and enriches the earth with higher forms of life developed through the struggle for existence. Is it charged as a cruel feature in the competition for existence, that the halt and feeble lose their footing on the world and are exiled from life? This judgment is itself a vindication of the Creator. The life given, with all its pains, is a good which it is a hardship to lose.

The sufferings which set in when the organism can be no longer worked is a harder problem. Had nature provided the winding up with an anesthetic, what harm would be done? The phenomena of disease among the lower animals, too, are perplexing facts. They are present, it is plain, *in spite of* the normal purpose of the structure they disturb, relatively to which they must be regarded as *undesigned* imperfection. However, they may be embraced within some larger project in whose paramount good their partial evils vanish. Does some one ask, What business have imperfections in the work of an infinite Being? Has he not power to bar them out? Dr. Martineau replies, Yes, if he lives out of his boundless freedom, and, from moment to moment, acts unpledged, conducting all things by the miscellany of incalculable miracles, there is nothing to hinder his Will from entering "where it listeth" and all things will be possible to him. But if once he commits his Will to any determinate method, and, for the realization of his ends, selects and institutes a scheme of instrumental rules (or laws), he thereby shuts the door on a thousand things that might have been possible before; He has defined His cosmical equation, and only those results can be worked out from it which are compatible with the value of its roots. It is in vain, therefore, to appeal to the almightiness of God, unless you mean to throw away

the relations of any established universe, and pass into his unconditioned infinitude. In the Cosmos he has abnegated that Almightiness in behalf of law. The limits, it is true, are *self-imposed*, but, in order to any determinate action at all, *some* limits had to be assigned; and unless you can show that to a different scheme better possibilities attached themselves, criticism is out of order.

No disasters have a more appalling aspect, or seem to make more cruel sport of life, than those produced by the earthquake, the volcano, the geyser,—convulsions that contradict the very solidity of the world; but all these are remnants of the planet-making which still goes on; which has advanced far enough to offer some habitable land, but not far enough to ensure against eruptions and cavings in. But surely there is nothing to deter a beneficent Creator from opening the story of sentient existence ere the crust of the earth has settled in its last security.

If we are asked to reconcile blizzards, and cyclones, in their wide sweeps of destruction, with a moral order in the universe, we may call attention to the fact that they occur in conformity with atmospheric and meteoric laws which alone render life possible, and under shelter of which every breathing thing exists, and moves, and grows, and sees the world, and feels the sun; so that the same rules which are death-dealing for an hour or a day, are life-giving for ever.

The real question is simply this: whether the laws of which complaint is made, work such harm that they ought never to have been enacted; or whether, in spite of occasional disasters in their path, the sentient existence of which they are the conditions has in its history a vast excess of blessing.

II. In man suffering gains additional intensity through the intellectual faculties which enable him to look forward in anticipation, backward in memory, and to put himself, in a very true sense, in the place of suffering friends, thus in these three ways greatly multiplying his suffering. But it is equally true

that through the same faculties he is enabled as greatly to multiply his joys.

But further, suffering is a postulate of our moral nature. No one can be brave, without regulating the importunities of fear; or generous, without setting the true limit to anger; or just, without subordinating pity to the sense of right. The very elements that make up the cases of duty are thus, in innumerable instances, relative to the presence of suffering, and in its absence would themselves disappear. Suffering thus holds a place among the data of the moral life, and is essential to this highest term in the ideal of humanity.

And suffering is not only the postulate from which our moral nature starts; it is also the *discipline* through which it gains its true elevation. Without suffering no man is ennobled. A large part of human pain comes from unrealized ideals. Yet to this source of unrest we evidently owe the whole impulse which saves both individuals and society from a stationary existence. More readily still will it be admitted that but for sorrow the heart would seldom find its rest in God.

But what shall we say of *moral evil* in the world? Why, it may be asked, were we not so made that sin would have been an impossibility to us? This question, like the similar one asked about the physical world, assumes that there is nothing we may not ask from the omnipotence of God. This, however, we have already seen would not be true of a God who had quitted his unconditioned infinitude, and instituted a cosmical existence. God is no doubt the source of the *possibility* of sin, having set up the created wills in which it originates, and left them free to choose alternatives. But only by thus abstaining from predetermining necessity, and allowing play for preferential choice, could he leave room for the exercise of *character* and the testing of fidelity. In virtue of this abstinence, God is at once the cause of the existence of human character, and *not* the cause of what that character shall be. It is *because He is holy*, and cannot be content with an *unmoral* world, where all the perfec-

tion is *given* and none is *earned*, that he refuses to render guilt impossible, and inward harmony mechanical. Were he only benevolent, it would suffice to fill his creation with the joy of sentient existence; but, being righteous too, he would have in his presence beings nearer to himself, determining themselves by free preference to the life which he approves; and preference there cannot be, unless the double path is open. To set up, therefore, an absolute barrier against the admission of wrong, is to arrest the system of things at the mere natural order, and detain life at the stage of a human menagerie, instead of letting it culminate in a moral society. The weightier problem before the righteous creator of the human race would seem to be this: how to provide the free conditions of *character*, and at the same time best secure *its tending upward*. Has this problem been solved? Let us see.

Nothing takes place morally except what takes place *through one's own self-determination*. To provide for this, man is endowed with will. In order to give scope for the intervention of will, there must arise some conflict between the intensity of one impulse and the higher worth of another. This constitutes *temptation* and gives opportunity for self-determination. But unless the temptations are kept within bounds disastrous results may ensue. Are they thus limited. (1) All men do not want the same sins, but all respect the same excellences. This difference in the temptations of men is security against the permanent dominance of any one sin, and furnishes hope of the final subordination of all. (2) In rightly directed will there is a cumulative force; while neglect and misuse entail a dying away of will, till the possibility of self-determination practically vanishes, and the moral life is to all intents and purposes expunged. But Will is power; power is thus being always lost by those in whom conscience sleeps, and always gained by those who form themselves by the higher law.

III. But does not history negative this reasoning, by showing humanity

abandoned to the conflict and triumph of rude force? No! There are four distinct types of character which mark the stages of ascent in personal and social life. They are: (1) That of *instinctive appetite and passion*, in which there is the least remove from the condition of other animals; (2) That of *self-conscious pursuit of personal and social ends*, involving the first exercise of will; (3) That of *conscience*, in which these ends are taken, not as we like, but as we *ought*; (4) That of *faith*, in which the conflict is transcended between what we like and what we ought, and duty becomes divine. And not only are these stages each relatively higher than the preceding, but the types of character are increasingly strong. Moreover, *racés* repeat in their experience these same successive stages of character, and exhibit among them the same relations of graduated strength. The impulsive or instinctive period is the time of petty wars and small communities. The self-conscious pursuit of social ends absorbs the petty tribes into the great trading commonwealths, of which Phœnicia stands as a primitive example. The genius of the Phœnicians was mercantile enterprise; they were the typical embodiment of *gainful desires*. When the time arrived for them to come into collision with the grave and vigorous Roman, no individual genius, no prowess, could avert their fall before the sterner moral solidity against which they were flung; the commercial civilization, which was great on the commercial exchanges of the world, went down before a law-giving and law-abiding people, whose mission it was to codify the social conscience of the human race.

Yet when that mighty Rome had for three centuries ruled the civilized world, an unnoticed competitor for the homage and allegiance of hearts stole in at the background of the scene. Insisting also on a common law,—administered, it is true, in no Prætor's court,—but insisting far more, on a blending affection, it asserted its superior vitality by stepping across the boundaries of empire, raising its altar in opposite camps, and quietly surviving the shocks of

revolution. As the old order caved in and made a disastrous ruin, the new religious organism lifted its head and grew; and whether we judge the inward unity which it created, by its intensity or its duration, it far transcended that of the great secular empire which it superseded.

History thus interpreted is no record of the triumph of rude strength, but, on the contrary, attests the ever advancing superiority of the higher terms in the hierarchy of powers.

III. THEISM VERSUS PANTHEISM.

The Theism which has been thus far vindicated has been reached by two distinct lines of thought, each taking its commencement from a primary axiom of our cognitive nature. The first proceeds from the principle of Causality, which the Intellect carries with it into all its interpretations of external phenomena; the second, from the sense of Duty, by which the Conscience reads a sacredness in life, and puts a divine construction on a large portion of our internal experience. Under the guidance of the former we have resolved the natural world into an effect of one wise and mighty Will; under the guidance of the latter, we have discovered our own affinity with a supreme omniscient Righteousness; and, from the relation between these separate messages of transcendent truth, it is quite evident that they are separate only to our different modes of apprehension, and that their predicates meet in one Being, perfect alike in Thought and Holiness. In working out, on the first line, the relation of God to Nature, an easy deviation leads to Pantheism; and, on the second, the relation of God to man may be so conceived as to issue in Necessarianism, or, as it is now more usually called, Determinism. Neither of these doctrines is compatible with the form of Theism which we have deduced, since the former invalidates all personal, and the latter all moral, relations between the human and the Divine Mind.

But the claims of each to acceptance must be investigated and invalidated before the position assumed in the pres-

ent treatise can be perfectly secured. Dr. Martineau therefore considers, next in order, these two subjects, Pantheism and Determinism. To his treatment of the first we give this paper, reserving the second for the next.

The word Pantheism is so often applied to a mode rather of feeling than of thought, that it may seem to mark a temperament more than a system, the immediate vision of the poet, and not the reflective interpretation of the philosopher. Pantheism has, however, crystallized into systems forming a well marked group in the history of thought.

What are its relations to Theism?

In reasoning out the principle of Causality we were necessarily brought to treat the universe of phenomena as an *effect*, and we were led from *this effect* to a *source* or beginning of things. Thus far we settled only the question of *origination*. So long as Theism engages itself with simply settling its "First Cause," there is nothing to prevent its laying down the relation of God to the universe on this wise: (1) The world was created in time; prior to which its Divine Cause existed from eternity without it. It will sometime perish; after which its Divine Cause will exist to eternity without it. (2) In setting it up, the Creator willed its order into being once for all, depositing in its materials the properties which would execute his purpose spontaneously, without need of his returning to it again. (3) The creation thus organized is finite, while its maker is infinite; so that beyond its limits, his presence boundlessly extends, and is only in external relation to it. (4) Like all that is finite, the world is imperfect, never realizing the perfect idea of its author. Thrown into this form (which, as a mere doctrine of origination, it could hardly fail to assume), Theism establishes a series of antitheses between the Universe and God. What is present with us and around us is only a mechanism running down through its appointed term, while its originator has withdrawn himself within the eternal beyond. Such was the Deism of the eighteenth century, and minds that are dominated by me-

chanical conceptions, will always tend to such negative results.

But if reflection escapes these limits, it may take a different direction and assume another form of thought. We may question each of the propositions enumerated above. (1) Is the idea of *Creation in time* tenable? Why and when did God begin to create? Was there a defect in his being, without a universe? If so, how did he spend an eternity without it? By such questioning as this we become aware of difficulties attaching to the doctrine of creative paroxysms chronologically separating God from what is other than God, and we pass over to the idea of *perpetual creation*, and let the Divine presence no longer come in *visits* to the world, but *rest in it forever*. (2) When once the conception of creative starts is dismissed, God becomes the One Cause in nature, and we have no further need for second causes; they would lie idle on our hands. (3) Again, were we really justified in saying that creation is finite while its author is infinite? Truer far to regard the two as co-extensive, and suffer the scope of the universe to coalesce with the Infinitude of God. So here in another point the antithesis ceases between Nature and its Source. (4) Finally, if nature at every turn has thus rallied from the shock of its first depreciation, and assumes a place rather of approximation than of contrast to God, if whatever it shows is an aspect of his thought, the dark material mass of matter becomes incandescent with the currents of a Divine Life forever streaming through it, till the gloomiest spaces flash with heavenly promise.

Thus, one by one, all the marks seem to disappear by which our Theism opposed to each other the maker and his works. There is no longer any separation between them, in time or space, or causality or quality: he who legislates also executes: the natural and supernatural are one.

In this transition, supposing it to be made absolute, we have passed into *Pantheism*. Can we find any single characteristic which sums up its difference from the previous Theism? May

we not say that in the original form of belief, God was conceived as *transcending* the universe every way, as infinite, as eternal, as source, as perfection; while in the subsequent Pantheism the universe is lifted out of its limits and its transiency, and is identified with his will in its energy, and his thought in its excellence; so that it is the simple externalization of his being, and he is wholly immanent in it?

This is the generally received distinction between Theism and Pantheism. But the claim of Divine transcendence involves no denial of Divine immanency. Thus far there is no opposition between Theism and Pantheism. The conflict begins with the pantheist's *negative* proposition: that beyond the natural order of things and prior to it no Divine life or agency can be. The theist would not plant all Divine agency outside of nature except at her birth hour, any more than would the pantheist. It is sufficient for him if God be *more than the contents of nature*, and *overpass them* in his being, action and perfection. The opposition therefore lies between *all-immanency* and *some transcendence*. It is perfectly consistent with the theistic position to hold the conception of an indwelling God whose living thought marks its way in the unsleeping order of nature, and whose will is self-realizing in human life and history; to see in the constant duties and the inconstant lights and shadows of human life a quickening communion with an invisible source of all beauty and good. Such conceptions of the immanence of God are in no wise antagonistic to the doctrine of his transcendence.

The pantheistic conception may be reached by either of two opposite paths: either by resolving nature upward into the universal power, or by bringing God downward into living possession of the whole realm of nature. The first begins with the scientific list of natural forces, and by repeated mergings reaches at last a single primary. If the primary, thus inductively reached and treated as our terminus, be in its conception purely mechanical or chemical,

our theory of the universe will be *atheistic*; if our primary present itself to us not as an inorganic but as a living power pervading the universe, but lacking self-conscious and intending mind, our theory will be *pantheistic*. In the other case, where the universe is taken up into God, we start from the idea of the Absolute Cause. Thus it is that intellectual or mystical forms of Pantheism arise, which, instead of regarding the Deity as only the common term or last generalization of all subordinate life, see nature glorified as the garment of God. Both these types of pantheism agree in removing all distinction between the natural and the supernatural.

Without further regard to their separate characteristics, it remains for us to determine, if we can, the relative validity of Theism and Pantheism.

As a transition from Deism, Pantheism can hardly fail to appear, at first sight, an escape into a higher view. Whether, however, this change from Deism toward Pantheism be a concession to weakness or an emergence into a higher and fuller truth, depends upon the extent toward which the change is carried. There is nothing whatever to warrant, in relation to God, the idea of deputed cosmical action, through second causes set up as tools qualified to work of themselves, separate from his will. The form in which the idea of causality comes to us is that of *Will*, and the only question that can rationally arise is, whether the action of Divine Will is most easily conceived as continuous through the operation it performs; or as momentary in itself, and handing over the prolonged part of the efficiency to a system of means, inert in themselves, but charged with delegated power cut off from its source. The latter supposition has nothing to recommend it. Against the former it may be objected that it involves an incessant and universal intervention of God in the minutest affairs. But is there any assignable reason for parsimony in the expenditure of immeasurable Will? Why may it not disperse itself in myriad drops, instead of pouring itself forth all in one flow? It is not in the field of

action, but in that of thought, that we are restive under complexity, and forever pressing our demand for unity; and in the immanence and boundless distribution of Divine energy there is nothing at variance with perfect simplicity of purpose and intellectual symmetry of method; any more than our own repetitions of will in each reproduction of habitual action are inconsistent with a rational system of life. The theist, therefore, need have no fear of the number of Divine volitions, and if we have rightly construed the source and meaning of our causal ideas, the one thing certain is that, however wide the sweep and durable the continuance of the laws of physical change, they are entrusted with no causality of their own, but are only the modes of the Divine action.

The whole external universe (external to self-conscious beings) then, the theist may, with the pantheist, unreservedly surrender to the indwelling Will, of which it is the organized expression. From no point of its space, from no moment of its time, his is living agency withdrawn, or less intensely present than in any crisis called creative.

Only at the boundary of the *proper Ego* does the theistic theory of the universe find ground upon which the Supreme Will arrests itself. Did that Supreme Will still press on and annex this field also, it would simply *abolish the very base of its own recognizable existence*, and, in making itself all in all, *would vanish totally from view*. It is precisely in *not being unitary* that causation is *accessible to thought at all*; and if our own will does not exercise it we are excluded from even the search for it elsewhere. The voluntary nature of moral beings, then, must be saved from pantheistic absorption, and be left standing as, within its sphere, a free cause other than Divine, yet homogeneous with it. You cannot even declare yourself a pantheist without self contradiction; for in doing so you reserve your own personality as a thinking and assertive power that deals with all else as objective.

If, however, the will of each rational being must be allowed a sphere of its

own, the same is true of his whole personality including intellect, conscience and affections. It is not another, even the Infinite, that decides for us, neither is it another that is tempted, that strives and prays.

To the doctrine as thus shaped it may perhaps be objected that, while it admits the Divine action as immediately present in the lower provinces of the cosmos, it excludes that action from the highest, viz., our moral life,—precisely the sphere that is nearest to God and would seem most congenial to him. Are we then to find God in the sunshine and the rain, and to miss him in our thought, our duty, and our love? Far from it. He is with us in both; only in the former it is his *immanent life*, in the latter his *transcendent life*, with which we are in communion. It is not indeed he that, under the mask of our personality, does our thinking, and praying against temptations, and weeps our tears: these are truly our own; but they are in presence of a sympathy free to answer, spirit to spirit; neither merging in the other; but both at one in the same inmost preferences and affections. This alone it is that gives scope for a Divine *personal being, living with persons*, and acting on grounds of reason and righteousness. Without freedom thus to act freshly out of immediate thought and affection, intellect, character, personality can have no place in the Divine causality. This personality of God thus rescued from pantheistic absorption, not only leaves his voluntary agency as free cause in an unpledged sphere, that is, a sphere transcending that of immanent law, but precisely this it is that constitutes his *Infinity* extending his sway over all the possible, after it has filled the actual, and giving command over infinite alternatives. Hence it is plain that his personality and his infinity are so far inseparable concomitants that, though you might deny his infinitude without prejudice to his personality you cannot deny his personality without sacrificing his infinitude; since there is one mode of action—the *preferential*,—the very mode which distinguishes rational beings,—from which

you exclude him in denying him personality.

Yet we are constantly told that a personal being is necessarily finite; that he is an individual, not a universal; restricted to a definite centre of consciousness and activity, into which and from which influences flow that make up his life. In short a *self* implies an *other-than-self*, and so gives two spheres of being, only one of which would be God and the other his negative. What answer shall we make to this? According to the division we have been defending, this *other than the Divine Self* is the aggregate of rational and moral beings, represented in our world by man. This man, as endowed with *Will*, we have actually treated as a separate cause, and so we have apparently accepted a limit to the infinitude of God. But surely it is not impossible or unreasonable that infinite Will should divest itself of a portion of its causality in order to fit up another and resembling nature. This nature thus set up, is included in what God *has caused* though exempted from what he *is causing*; and the causality conceded to us takes therefore nothing from the Creator's infinitude, but what he himself renounces; moreover, what is thus relinquished is potentially retained.

Alike in setting up other minds with a range of command over alternatives, and instituting a universe under law without alternative, the infinite Cause foregoes something of his absolute freedom; in the one case admitting partners of his liberty; in the other, establishing for himself a sphere of necessity; and the more comprehensive the sphere of necessity or law, the vaster is the renunciation; if it extends to the All, so as to leave no margin of transcendency, the limitation reaches its maximum, no possibility but one being left open anywhere. What greater contradiction can there be than to say in one breath, that a being is infinite and omnipotent, and yet cannot put forth preferential power? And if we are careful for his infinitude, which shall we be more afraid to grant,—that he lends to a derivative being a little pre-

ferential power; or that he is forever incapacitated for exercising it himself?

"For these reasons the modern scruples that are felt with regard to the personality of God," says Dr. Martineau, after a full presentation of the subject, "appear to me not less intellectually weak than they are morally deplorable. If any one is fastidious about the word, and thinks it spoiled by the Athanasian controversy, let him supply us with a better; but some symbol we must have of that Divine freedom in the exercise of Will, the acknowledgment of which makes the difference between Theism and Pantheism, and gives religion its entrance into the conscience and affections of men. As the parts of our nature which thus enter into relation with God are precisely those which make us persons and distinguish us from other 'living things' it is difficult to see why the same term should not be given to the corresponding attributes of rational and moral Will in him: and where the idea is really present, and craving expression, I believe that for the most part it will be glad enough for the word. At all events its contents are just what Theism rescues from Pantheism. Here it is that the God, immanent through the universe besides, and operating by determinate methods alone, passes into transcendent existence, existence still unpledged, and establishes moral relations with beings whom he has endowed with a certain scope of similar volitional causality."

V. DETERMINISM AND FREE WILL.

Each of the two lines of argument which have been followed in Dr. Martineau's "Study of Religion" starts with an intuitive assumption.

The first of these assumptions is, that in the exercise of Will we know what Causality is, and apprehend the Will of God along with our own. The second is, that the authority of Deity is known to us as a relation between our own Will as free and that of a higher and Supreme Being. Of that relation we are conscious as a trust, or *command of alternative*, better and worse, committed to us by a perfect Righteousness.

But this appeal to self-consciousness is *set aside* on various ingenious pleas. Our belief in our own moral freedom, that is, our belief that in the moment of yielding to one of two competing solicitations, we might have preferred the other, arises merely, it is said, from a partial ignorance of the complex influences that mould our decisions, and when our inward history is laid bare, each volition will be found to have its place in a regular consecution of phenomena, as uniform as physical nature, and as little open to contingency. Thus has arisen the discussion between Determinism and Free Will. To this discussion Dr. Martineau devotes a hundred and twenty-six pages, no one of which the student of this crucial question should fail to read.

The inquiry concerns the originating cause of voluntary action, and is mainly this: *Whether, in the exercise of Will (i. e., in cases of choice) the mind is wholly determined by phenomenal antecedents and external conditions, or whether, as active subject of these objective experiences, it plays the part of determining Cause.* Those who take the first or necessarian alternative draw their arguments chiefly from a psychological theory of voluntary action. Dr. Martineau selects James and John Stuart Mill, and Professor Bain as representatives of this class of thinkers, and analyzes their lines of argument. The reasoning is somewhat abstruse, but worth following.

1. All muscular movements, so these thinkers hold, are at first automatic and so far take place at random, that, springing from some sensation either administered from without or occurring in the interior of the body, they partake of the accidental character of these sensations. We begin by being absolutely disposed of by such sensations persistent or fortuitous.

2. Through the laws of association and imitation, idea (sensation) and action are inseparably associated; given the idea, the action will certainly follow.

Thus the determinist or necessarian explains *involuntary* actions.

But action may become the attendant of many ideas associated with the par-

ticular idea of pleasure or desire, action becomes *voluntary*. How is this effected, and what is the law of *voluntary action*? Some movement, accidentally performed, brings us, it may be, a pleasure or relief, which henceforth becomes connected with it in idea, so that whatever suggests the pleasure suggests the movement too. The mere idea of an attainable pleasure, occurring in the natural train of thought, will bring with it the idea of what we are to do in order to get it, that is, idea of the motory initiative and process; and, each link by indissoluble association drawing after it the next, the operation consummates itself. By frequent repetitions this process becomes habit. Thus the voluntary stage springs from the automatic, and in the shape of habit, is delivered back to automatism again.

In the control which we also obtain over our *inward* life, the same dominant principle, viz., the interest of *an end in view*, no less supplies the explanation. All these processes are *voluntary* because their regulative idea is a want or wish which is so associated with an order of muscular movement, or of thought competent to its fulfilment, that the preconception is the sole condition needful to secure the entire sequel. We *want a pleasure* as an end, and having some experience of muscular motion as sometimes happy in its results, we set it a going in a random way of "trial and error." This explains the genesis of *effort*, which Mr. Bain regards as consisting in "trial-movements" *for pleasure*. If this be the true theory of voluntary action, it is evident that our volitions are dependent, like our memories, on the laws of suggestion, and have their definite place in trains of ideas, as little variable as the letters of the alphabet: that *to will* is to have an idea of pleasure followed by a muscular movement that clings to it; and that whoever or whatever wakes up the first secures the second; that we have no more to do with our acts of will, so-called, than to be the conscious theater and supply the wielded implements. No room, therefore, is left for *Free Will* unless the facts

admit of some other psychological construction. Do they admit of other construction?

Dr. Martineau reviews this necessarian theory of volition and finds, (1) that the first movements called spontaneous, are *not* random, but on the lines prescribed by certain organic wants or tendencies; and the first pleasures are simply the satisfaction of these wants. (2) Life is *not* a mere wriggling into contact with something nice, which thenceforth becomes its master; but *rather* contains within itself its own directing forces, which select what to do, and crown the doing by satiety. If we set up the direct "idea of pleasure" as the governing principle, and ignore the prior natural principles, we can never give accounts of the undoubted cases in which we *court our own misery*, when, for example, on the urgency of compassion, we tear ourselves from the sunshine of life and plunge into its clouds of sorrow. *Will* comes into play with the attempt to *control the spontaneity*, and make it *do this and not do that, i. e.*, when there is some *selection*. By thus limiting the range of Will to the function of *determining an alternative*, we take up the problem at the point where first two co-present tendencies conflict.

Suppose, for example, that you suffer under some calumny admitting disproof; your natural course would be to give the exculpating statement. But if, in doing so, you must cast a shadow on some fair name, or embitter some precious friendship, your impulse will be arrested by a resistance equally natural. Consider what takes place in deciding this conflict. The elements present are (1) two incompatible springs of action,—the desire to save your own credit, and the desire to save that of others; and (2) what may be called *your own past, i. e.*, a certain formed system of habits and dispositions brought from your previous use of life. The former head comprises the *motives* that are offered; the latter, the *character* that has come to be. Do these settle the matter between them? Is the character the arena on which the play, or

rather the war, of the motives fights itself out, and is the volition, the flash of the stronger sword? Or, inverting the parts of active and passive, shall we say that the past character, instead of lying still and *being influenced* by the triumphant motive, comes in as umpire between them, *giving the ascendancy* to that which is the more consonant with itself? Or is our account still incomplete; and must we admit that, besides the motives felt, and besides our formed habits or past self, there is also a *present self* that has a part to perform in reference to both? Is there not a *causal self*, over and above the *caused self* (or rather the *caused state and contents* of the self left as a deposit from previous behavior)? Is there not a *judging self* that knows and weighs the competing motives, over and above the *agitated self that feels them*? The *impulses* are but phenomena of your experience; the *formed habits* are but a condition and attitude of your consciousness, in virtue of which you feel this more and that less; both are *predicates* of yourself as subject, but are *not yourself*, and cannot be identified with your personal agency. On the contrary, they are *objects of your contemplation*; they lie before you to be known, compared, estimated; they are your data; and you have not to let them alone to work together as they may, but to deal with them, as arbiter among their tendencies. It is this that we mean when we say that "it rests with us to decide," that "our impulses are not to be our masters," that "guilty habit cannot be pleaded in excuse for guilty act"; the deciding Ego of a rational self-consciousness will never allow that it is *obliged to follow* the importunities of its feelings; it will insist, on the contrary, that it can *command* them.

After a careful review and analysis of the whole necessarian argument, the conclusion is reached that the empirical psychology does not dispose of our consciousness of personal causation, or succeed in reducing us to a theater of felt antecedents and consequents. There remains the indelible conviction that we are not bound hand and foot by either our present incentives or our own

past, but that, drag as they may, a power remains with us to make a new beginning along another path if we will.

But, while the *modern determinist* or *necessarian* relies chiefly on his *psychology*, the *older* writers trusted chiefly certain *axioms of causality*. These, also, are carefully reviewed with the deductions supposed to flow logically from them, the whole forming a critical history of a whole school of philosophic thinking.

We can only indicate the trend of Dr. Martineau's argument, but the steps by which these results are reached will repay careful study.

We have found that we could know God as Cause, and as Holy. If we know God as *intending Cause*, if we see in the universe an organized system of ends, he comes before our thought as a prospective Mind, whose agency at every present moment has regard to an anticipated future; and to suppose that future invisible [to him] is to suppose the present impossible. And if, again, we know him as *Supreme Author of Right*, if we see in our own consciences the reflection of his Will, we thereby place ourselves under a discipline of progressive character, and the human race under a moral education, by which all life and history are turned into a probationary scene of government. But such a scene ceases to be a blind jumble of accidents, and becomes a *drama* in which the end is preconceived from the beginning, and each act, as it passes, brings up the conditions and the persons needful to lead on to the consummation. He, without whom there would be no future but his own, cannot create a future of which he has not first the idea. It is not without reason, therefore, that prescience has been assumed by theologians as part of the conception of a Perfect Being.

But does the prescience thus evidenced involve determinism in human action? In the theological form as often deduced from Scripture, it certainly does. If the impieties of Antiochus Epiphanes, the restoring acts of Cyrus, the betrayal by Judas, the ra-

forming zeal of Josiah, were all fore-announced, some of them ages before the persons were born, and if these predictions, thus made, were verified, it can only have been by the exclusion of contingency; a thing known for certain cannot be uncertain. Such prescience would preclude human free will.

But the prescience required by philosophic Theism is not of this definite and individual kind, except in the domain of physical nature, where choice has no place. Beyond this, in the world of intelligences, a margin of freedom being allowed, the lines of possibility are not rectilinear, but divergent, and open a way into innumerable hypothetical fields, among which, as yet invisible, lies the actual. In the outlook upon this realm which embraces the future, what is needed, in order that the intending causality of God, and his moral government, may secure their ends and shape their means? Simply, that no one of the open possibilities shall remain in the dark to the Infinite Omniscience and pass unreckoned, and that they shall all, in their working out, be compatible with the ruling purposes of God, not defeating the aim, but only varying the track. An infinite mind, with prevision thus extended beyond all that is, to all that *can* be, is lifted above surprise or disappointment, and able to provide for all events and combinations; yet, instead of being shut up in a closed and mechanized universe, lives amid the free play of variable character and contingent history, into which there is room for approval, pity, and love to flow.

Is this a *limitation* of God's foresight, that he cannot read all volitions that are to be? Yes; but it is a *self-limitation*, just like his abstinence from causing them. Lending to us a portion of his causation, he refrains from covering all with his omniscience. Foreknowledge of the contingent is not a perfection; and if, rather than have a reign of universal necessity and stereotyped futurity, he willed, in order to prepare scope for a gift of moral freedom, to set up a range of alternative possibilities, he would but render some

knowledge conditional for the sake of making any righteousness attainable; leaving enough that is determinate, for science; and enough that is indeterminate, for character. "There is no absurdity in supposing," says Dugald Stewart, "that the Deity may, for wise purposes, have chosen to open a source of contingency in the voluntary actions of his creatures, to which no prescience can possibly extend." Such contingency leaves room for Freedom of the Will, and this freedom explains the "ought" of conscience which on the theory of Determinism is inexplicable. Determinism can tell us what has been, what is, what probably will be, but not what *ought* to be.

VI. THE LIFE TO COME.

The question of a Future Life depends upon the interpretation of Death. To find the true significance of Death will require that we examine it in three points of view: physiological, metaphysical, and moral.

To the naturalist, death presents itself simply in antithesis to birth. The fundamental conception of his science so defines the relation of *organs* and *functions* as to make the *function the act which the organ has to do*; so that, when the organ is spoiled and gone the living function cannot remain. This view would seem to make a life after death impossible.

But the moment we touch the conscious and the voluntary we are flung upon facts not known in physics. "The passage from the physics of the brain to the corresponding facts of consciousness," says Professor Tyndall as quoted by Dr. Martineau, "is unthinkable. Granted that a definite thought and a definite molecular action in the brain, occur simultaneously, we do not possess the intellectual organ, nor apparently any rudiment of the organ, which would enable us to pass, by a process of reasoning, from the one to the other. They appear together, but we do not know why. Were our minds and senses so expanded, strengthened, and illuminated, as to enable us to see and feel the very molecules of the brain; were we

capable of following all their motions, all their groupings, all their electrical discharges, if such there be; and were we intimately acquainted with the corresponding states of thought and feeling, we should be as far as ever from the solution of the problem of how these physical processes are connected with the facts of consciousness. The chasm between the two classes would still remain intellectually impassable." If, then, in the molecular motions, groupings, and electrical discharges of the brain we have its *function*, that organ finds its function in a class of phenomena separated by "a chasm intellectually impassable" from consciousness and will. If the organic and the mental phenomena lie thus apart, how can any legitimate inference carry us from the one to the other? If no one can affirm their connection to be necessary, who can affirm their disconnection to be impossible?

Still another argument against the physicist's view of death is found in the law of the conservation of energy. An illustration is drawn from the effect of a whispered message, "Your library is on fire," to show that when we come to follow out the law of conservation of energy, the force of moving air used in the whisper will not account for all the energy displayed in what follows. If the law of conservation did hold good, if the mental concomitants—the thoughts and feelings awakened by the whispered message—might be omitted without disturbance to the dynamic equation, then they cost nothing in the way of energy; they are not, therefore, physical effects drawing upon a physical cause. They are exempt from the law of conservation which pervades the physical sphere; they belong to another universe; and mind emerges as something independent of matter. If, on the other hand, the transmission of energy in the supposed case is *not* complete within the bodily organism, then indeed it follows that mind is not independent of matter, but also that matter is not independent of mind.

In its physical aspects death presents simply a case of transformation of en-

ergy. In crossing the mortal line, the total energy which had manifested itself in the heat and the whole work of the body is not altered, and might be gathered up and measured, though every organ is cold and every function is at rest. But we should miss in this estimate any element answering to the *thoughts, the affections, the volitions* which were the concomitants of the muscular contraction and nerve tension in the living man. If these mental activities are included in the category of "energy," then, since they are not transformed, they still continue; for were they extinct the law of conservation would be broken. If they are not included, if the cycle of energy is perfect without them, then they lie outside the physical world, and are foreign to its fates. We may conclude, therefore, that in the physical phenomena of death there is nothing to pre-judge the question of a life beyond.

But a deeper question is, Will death leave the personal identity untouched, and permit the story of the past to flow on in continuous sequel? This problem hangs on the nature, not of the *animal consciousness*, but of human *self-consciousness*. In its solution recourse is had to the physiological principle that in living beings, we are justified in expecting a due proportion between organ and function, between faculty and range of life. The animal body, as animal, is a machine, charged with powers, unconscious and conscious, for preserving, regulating, replacing itself. There is not a propensity or a sagacity that is not subservient to this system of ends. But in the self-conscious human animal we find a difference. Who would ever think of referring the sentiment of *conscience* to its physiological use? It neither helps the digestion nor regulates the temperature; it succors no weakness, it repels no foe; the labor to which it incites, the enthusiasm which it kindles, often detract from the animal perfection and consume the organic powers that serve it. The sense of *beauty*, too, in its human maturity, emerges from the sphere of sense and takes possession of an ideal world, moulding thought into

literature, and character into drama. Compassion, sympathy, and attachment serve in us, no doubt, the same ends for which they more or less exist in other creatures. But how soon and how far do they transcend this simply useful function, and claim a good upon their own account? Judging these features by a prospective instead of a retrospective measure, surely we should conclude that it is for these we are made; these it is to which we must yoke our physical power in a humble service, by which we are to rise above the physical, and to pass into a life of larger dimensions. This view Professor Fiske is quoted as confirming. "The more thoroughly we comprehend that process of evolution by which things have come to be what they are, the more we are likely to feel that to deny the everlasting persistence of the spiritual element in man is to rob the whole process of its meaning. For my own part, therefore, I believe in the immortality of the soul, not in the sense in which I accept the demonstrable truths of science, but as a supreme act of faith in the reasonableness of God's work."

The metaphysical interpretation of Death to which we next turn, presses upon us the question, What is it that survives the perishing organism, if survival there be? If we call it the *Soul*, whence have we the idea of such a possible prisoner escaped? Is it from any source which renders it legitimate, and justifies our acceptance of it as trustworthy? Dr. Martineau finds the basis of this idea where he found the basis of our religious belief in God, namely, in the constitution of human nature. The persistent element to which we give the name soul, is given to us not by our senses or our imagination, but as an intuition from our experience of personality; the conscious self-identity which we have as the abiding subject of variable phenomena; the identity consisting not in a reserve of stereotyped phenomena, but in the unity of the *Ego* or *Self* to which all the attributes and phenomena belong,—a unity undisturbed by the greatest contrasts of experience and revolution of character. This durable

selfdom attaches to us, not as *conscious*, but as *personal* (i. e. *self-conscious*) beings. This constant centre to which we refer all our acts as their source, and all our experiences as their receptacle, is what we mean by the *Soul*. Hence the soul or self stands for us as the permanent term in a relation of change. From this subjective origin of the idea, it is evident that of the soul as an *object* we predicate nothing beyond the bare space definition of here and there, by which one is differenced from another. As a constant it is indifferent to time; as it is not a thing offered to perception, it is not open to the tests of analysis. Its self-identity, however, we are obliged to affirm; nor when we would mark the felt unity of the cosmos through all space and time and change, have we any way of doing so but by planting there a *universal Soul*, as the centre whence its energies flow and whither its phenomena look? This dominant *Self* of the universe we discriminate from the *physical* which it animates; we oppose it to the *phenomenal* which it puts forth; and we claim it as the reality of both. It is the All in its idea and its causality. Thus the human soul is individual, while God—the universal soul—is the cosmical aspect of the inward principle of existence; and they are homogeneous in our thought, except in the spheres at their disposal.

Let it be assumed, then, that we have first hand knowledge of a Self or Soul, whose permanence as a possible subject of experiences is not contradicted by any organic phenomena, including those of death; and further, that this individual Ego has been set up by the Universal Mind in whose embrace it lives, and which it reflects in its miniature powers. How are we to conceive of the relation between these two? And especially is the relation in its nature such that death must dissolve it? Two metaphysical reasons are urged from the pantheistic side why it must be so: (1) the relation has begun, therefore it must cease; (2) the egoistic personality is finite, and cannot hold its ground amid the infinite.

(1) With reference to the first it may be answered that within the limits of

organic life, whose history consists of a cycle of chemical changes, it is true that birth is the invariable precursor of a series leading to death; but beyond this range it cannot be shown that either mechanical or mental genesis must run its course and come to an end. If we can think of the law of gravitation as having been given to the material universe, surely we are not on that account compelled by any logical necessity to anticipate its cessation. And there is no assignable reason why the case should be otherwise with intellectual and moral natures. If at a certain stage in the development of the cosmos, the Supreme Mind set up at a given centre a personal subject of thought and will like his own, with adequate assignment of causality, what is to prevent this from being a freehold in perpetuity? Why may not the communicated Divine nature endure as long as the uncommunicated Source on which it lives? So far as thought, and love, and goodness are related to time, their relation is not cyclical, but progressive, not returning to their beginnings, but opening out into indefinite enlargement and acceleration. The dictum, therefore, that whatever begins must end, is one to which we are not bound to surrender; and the only pre-existence which we need allow to the Soul is latent within its Divine Source, ere yet its idea has taken effect and the personal monad been set up.

(2) The other principal assumed, namely, that personality is a finite phenomenon and must sink back into its infinite ground, has played a much larger part in the reasoning upon this subject since the time of Spinoza.

But is it true that the finite cannot hold its place amid the infinite, and that personality being a finite phenomenon must sink back into its infinite ground? It certainly is true that here in this life the finite and infinite co-exist; and why, if possible now, should it become impossible after death?

The pantheist represents the human personality as an outline artificially drawn round a small enclosure, within which lie the individual experiences of a human life. To set up a living indi-

vidual, he says, is simply to establish such a centre of special consciousness, and fence it off by a containing periphery, and let it for a while assert and discriminate itself as against the boundless environment from which it is cut out; and even while it lasts, this self-protection from the integral field is but an illusion, which death only dissipates, surrendering the individual back into the universal.

This mode of conception, borrowed from the relations of geometrical figures in space, confounds the *infinite with the total*, and erroneously assumes that the infinite is denied if we speak of anything besides. Of mere extension this will doubtless hold true, and we cannot say that the universal field of things is made up of infinitude *plus* the size of the sun. But this rule has no truth except where both terms are quantitative and homogeneous. The predicate of magnitude belongs to time as well as space, and neither of them puts any bound upon the other; in affirming a square yard I do not put any bounds upon eternity. When we carry the infinitude from quantity to quality, it ceases altogether to be a totality and becomes an intensity; and far from embracing all that is less than itself, completely excludes it. Infinite knowledge, for example, is perfect thought of all that has been, is, or can be, and does not comprise among its contents a partial knowledge in which truth and error both have their share; in order to meet *this* you must resort to another thinking subject, a mind of limited range. And what is there to prevent such finite intelligence from co-existing with the infinite?

The end pursued by the Will of the Creator in the creation of man would seem to be to set up what is *other* than himself, and yet akin; to mark off new centres of self-consciousness and causality, that shall have their separate histories and build up free personalities like his own. And why should not those free personalities, once built up, continue? Certain it is that here we come upon the very crown and culmination of the world's process. Personality is not the largest, but it is the

highest fact in the known cosmos; and if death has power over it, then there is nothing that death spares.

Thus far no more has been attempted than to ward off unfavorable presumptions against the future life. Were the problem surrendered to physics and metaphysics, it could never quit its state of suspense. There would be nothing to forbid the future, but there would be nothing to promise it. Not till we turn to the moral aspects of death, do we meet with the presiding reasons which give the casting vote.

As between beings, Divine and human, standing in spiritual relations to each other, what place does death hold and what significance does it apparently possess? Two facts we may note with respect to man. (1) That the usual animal order of means and ends with him is inverted: the inner springs of action, instead of merely serving the organism, dominate it and use it; our faculties are set up on their own account, and carry their own ends. (2) The Divine ends manifestly inwrought in our human nature and life, are continuous and of large reach; and, being here only partially or even incipiently attained, indicate that the present term of years is but a fragment and a prelude. When we place side by side the needs of human life, taken on the most liberal estimate, and the scope of the intellectual powers of man, do we not find the latter an enormous over-provision for the former?

For the sweetness and harmony of life, it would be enough if the voices of our companions were music to our ears, and their faces a light to our eyes; but we have need, it seems, of a wider capacity of fellowship, that takes no notice of the barriers of death: for what is literature, but the appeal of thought to thought and heart to heart through silent ages?

Space, too, belongs, in a very true sense, to man alone; and though other creatures have their retinas on which the starry vault shines in, it tells its depth and looks its meaning to no night-watcher but man. Whence for an existence limited to a point, this insatiable

interest in objects and movements, on the margin of infinitude?

Man as a creator, too, seems equally above his present lot. An Iliad, an Agamemnon, a Divina Commedia, a Hamlet, a Faust, a Madonnadi San Sisto, is each a unique birth in which no second mind can bear a part; and go where it may, speak to what myriads it will, it is still the appeal of one soul to one, eliciting response as sharp and single as the echo of a solitary voice. Flowing forth from a single creative nature, it acts by its touch as an experiment in spiritual friendship, and gathers an ever-increasing group, held fast in fellowship of enthusiasm, and owning a common obligation to the genius which has discovered for them their true soul. What and where, then, are the two members of this relation? Is the first of them nothing and nowhere? Can a word that is immortal come from a speaker that is ephemeral?

I do not know that there is anything in nature which could be compared in wastefulness with the extinction of great minds; their gathered resources, their matured skill, their luminous insight, their unfailing tact, are not like instincts that can be handed down; they are absolutely personal and inalienable, and if the personality is to be blotted out they are lost from the universe.

Doubtless this faith in immortality owes its large extension among men in no slight degree to the secret feeling that in the nature of man there is more contained than the measure of the present life requires and satisfies.

But it is when we turn to the Moral Consciousness that we hear a voice even more distinct demanding an existence larger than this mortal life. What is the meaning of probation? Liberty to go right,—liberty to go wrong.—can it be a mere haphazard gift, an unmeaning institution of contingency, as if from some curiosity to see what will turn up? And when the experiment is over, are the actors dismissed, the curtain dropped, and the theatre closed? Such an issue would contradict the very essence of moral freedom, which surely loses all significance if no difference is to be

made between those who use it well and those who use it ill. We are not upon our trial, unless there is a future that depends upon ourselves. So that wherever Conscience is, there we stand only in the fore-court of existence; and a moral world can not be final, unless it be everlasting.

But it may be said that there are provisions in the organism of this world for making us feel the difference between right and wrong ways of living: that the physical laws of nature, and the sentiments of men, furnish both reward and retribution. Granted; but is the award certain and adequate? A careful study of facts compels a negative answer.

From this survey of the great lines of human experience two inferences seem to force themselves upon us: (1) that *everywhere*,—in our conscience, in our physical nature, in the sentiments of associated men,—there are indelible

marks of a morally constituted world moving toward righteous ends. (2) That *nowhere*, within us or outside of us, do we find the fulfilment of this idea; and these facts irresistibly suggest a justifying sequel. Thus the verdict of the moral nature is in harmony with that of the intellectual and spiritual, distinctly reporting to us that we stand in Divine relations which indefinitely transcend the limits of our earthly years.

Our epitome of Dr. Martineau's "Study of Religion" is now ended. If the result of what has been written shall be to increase in any degree the number of the readers of the great work itself, or if even a few shall have been helped to clearer thinking upon the weighty themes which have engaged our attention, the end which the reviewer has had in mind, will have been accomplished.

HON. JAMES M. ASHLEY

IN MEMORIAM.

**Addresses delivered in the Unitarian Church,
Ann Arbor, Michigan, January 10, 1897, at a
Service in Commemoration of the Lives and
Public Services of Hon. James M. Ashley and
Hon. Alpheus Felch.**

HON. JAMES M. ASHLEY.

**Addresses at a Memorial Service,
Ann Arbor, Michigan, Janu-
ary 10th, 1897.**

REV. DR. SUNDERLAND'S INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS.

We have gathered here to-night to do honor to the memory of two distinguished men—our fellow citizens, and, to many of us, personal friends.

Both men lived through long lives of toil and high achievement. One was for more than half a century a resident of this city, had seen it grow from its first small beginnings to what it is now, and had been closely identified with nearly all its progress, as well as with almost the entire history of our great University. The other had his home in Ann Arbor for a few years while his three sons and one daughter were taking University courses of study, but he, himself, was not able, for business reasons, to spend very much time here. His almost life-long identification was with our neighboring city of Toledo. And yet, few men have ever done so much for the growth and business prosperity of Ann Arbor as he.

Both men were long in public life. Both men filled honorable places, one a very distinguished place—in the Congress of the United States. Both were occupants of gubernatorial chairs.

Both rendered valuable service to the State of Michigan—one in connection

with her industrial development, during the past twenty-five years; the other in connection with her industrial, commercial but especially her legal, educational and political development and history, for sixty years.

Both rendered important service to the nation in various ways—which will be set forth in the addresses to which we shall listen to-night.

Personally the two men were of very different types. But both were men of honor, integrity, incorruptibility.

It is fitting that such men should be publicly honored. It is fitting that the service they have rendered to their generation should be held in remembrance by those who live after them. It is fitting that we, their friends and fellow citizens should come together to study the valuable lessons of their lives, and to be quickened by the example of their good deeds.

Of course it is natural that Gov. Ashley should be remembered with somewhat peculiar interest and regard by many who are before me to-night, because of the connection of himself and his family with this religious society. In religious faith he was a Unitarian. During all the years that he kept his home in Ann Arbor he was a generous supporter of this church, as he was an interested attendant upon our services here, when his duties allowed him to be at home. Few pews were so regularly filled on Sunday morning as the Ashley pew. For some years Mrs. Ashley was a member of our board of trustees, as she was always one of our most devoted, efficient and valued church workers. In all this activity she had the cordial sympathy of her husband. The removal of the family from Ann Arbor to Toledo was deeply felt by us all. Though for some years past they have been separated from us, we have never ceased to think of them as still belonging to us. The family's bereavement comes close to us as a church. I am sure that Gov. Ashley's death has nowhere caused sincerer sorrow than among those who knew and honored and loved him here.

In religious affiliation Gov. Felch was

a Presbyterian. He was a supporter and regular attendant of the Presbyterian church of this city. In religious matters he was naturally reticent, never being disposed to dogmatize, or to press his views unduly upon others. He respected the religious convictions of others, as he wished them to respect his. No one who judges a man's christianity by his life (the only right standard of judgment) ever doubted that Gov. Felch was a christian. If all the christianity were the kind that he *lived*, there would not be a skeptic in existence. Still more, if all the christianity in the world were the kind that he lived, sectarianism would vanish away, the strifes and dis-fellowshipping that now we see between church and church and denomination and denomination would cease, and all who call themselves by the christian name would become brothers indeed.

I am glad we have the privilege of commemorating together in this church, Alpheus Felch and James M. Ashley. One was a Democrat, the other was a Republican. But what does that matter? How small are all party names compared with patriotism and political honor! One was a Presbyterian, the other a Unitarian. But how trivial become all sectarian tests and theological shibboleths in the presence of high manhood, integrity, incorruptibility, service rendered to one's fellow men! Let us rejoice that the platform on which we stand to-night is one that is larger than political parties; broader than sectarian issues or theological dogmas.

Said a distinguished man of the past, "The world is my country; to do good is my religion." The greatest of all religious teachers taught that true religion is summed up in love and service. It is in this spirit that we have invited you here, to unite in the commemoration of two men eminent in service to their kind.

JUDGE HARRIMAN'S ADDRESS UPON GOV.
ASHLEY.

James Mansfield Ashley was one of most marked men and one of the most interesting political characters of our time. The son of a Campbellite minister and slave-holder in Kentucky, he ran away

from his father's house when twelve years of age. He was precocious, bright, handsome, ambitious, overflowing with animal spirits and love of adventure. He was inquisitive and possessed a keen sense of the ridiculous and absurd. He wanted to know the "why" and the "wherefore" of things and his tough and searching questions about the Westminster Catechism, the doctrines of election and eternal punishment, and especially about slavery, all in the hearing of the preachers and other strangers assembled at the family table, caused his father no end of embarrassment and annoyance, and brought about that stern and unyielding paternal discipline which finally drove the youth from home. His mother sympathized with her spirited son, and her affectionate letters followed him in all his wanderings. He has told me that not the least of the motives which stirred his energies and fired his ambition to make a success in life was the thought that he was the object of a dear mother's unceasing and tireless prayers.

After leaving home he became successively a common laborer on a flat boat, a cabin-boy, and clerk of a river steamer; engaged in the freight business on the Ohio with a flat-boat of his own, learned the printer's trade, edited a country newspaper, ran a drug-store, studied law and was admitted to the bar, and finally, in 1859, became a member of Congress from the Toledo district in Ohio, and remained a member of that body ten successive years, the ten most important and stirring years of our national history. From the time he left home at twelve years of age he never entered a school-house for study. He early became interested in political questions and by reading and study thoroughly informed in our political history. His mother, although her husband was a slave holder, believed that slavery was a wicked and unholy institution, and she marked her boy with her detestation of it. Mr. Ashley has told me that he could not remember the day when he did not look upon the institution with shame and horror. Without reward, or the

hope of reward, and at the peril of his life, he aided many slaves, when a mere boy, to escape from slavery in Kentucky to freedom in Canada. One dark night, when about seventeen years of age, he helped an old slave and his wife across the Ohio on their way to freedom. As he left the Kentucky bank of the river about 2 o'clock in the morning to go to his room, some one in the darkness called him by name, "James!" Presently an old Quaker preacher, still living in Kentucky, came up to him, and handing him a twenty dollar gold piece said, "My boy, take this, you may need it," and without uttering another word disappeared in the darkness. This incident frightened Ashley. He feared that the business he had been engaged in had been discovered. He knew that lynching would be his certain fate if caught aiding runaway slaves to escape, and he fled from Kentucky. From that day until the extinguishment of slavery by constitutional amendment, in public and in private, in season and out of season, whether it were popular or unpopular, whether it were likely to lead him to victory or defeat, the voice of James M. Ashley was heard in opposition to slavery, and all the pretensions and schemes and final treason of the champions of the slave power.

His brave and manly opposition to slavery endeared Mr. Ashley to the great anti-slavery leaders of the country. Gerritt Smith, Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, Henry Tappan, Lydia Maria Child and Lucretia Mott were his devoted friends, and all remained so to the day of their death. They believed that God had raised him up to take the place of the murdered Lovejoy. Can we judge a man by the company he keeps and the quality of his friends? Can there be any doubt about the character and merits of the man who can gain and retain during their lives the respect, the confidence, and the love of such men and women as Charles Sumner and Lydia Maria Child? Abraham Lincoln was his friend, and to illustrate the familiar relations which existed between them I may relate a

circumstance or two which have never seen the print. It is well known that many of the leading republicans of the country were opposed to the re-nomination of Lincoln in 1864, and a leader among them was Salmon P. Chase of Ohio. One day Mr. Lincoln sent for Ashley to come to his office, as he wished to consult him about a matter of importance. When he called the President was alone. He said, "Ashley, a good many of the friends of Chase have been urging me to appoint him Chief Justice of the supreme court. Chase is not friendly to me, and as he comes from your state, I thought I ought to advise with you about it. "What do you say?" "Mr. President," replied Ashley, "Governor Chase is an able and honest man, and true patriot. I think you ought to appoint him and I heartily recommend it." Lincoln seemed greatly surprised at this advice, as he knew that Chase and Ashley were not at that time friends, and looking Ashley square in the eye, said, "Would you appoint him if you were in my place?" "No, sir," replied Ashley, "I certainly would not." Why do you advise me to do a thing that you would not do yourself?" asked Lincoln. Ashley replied, "Mr. President, you are a greater man than I am. You tower above all your personal enemies, and everyone knows it; you can afford to be generous and magnanimous with them; you can afford to perform the duties of your great office without regard to any personal feeling, and I think you ought to do it." Lincoln was silent for a moment, and a tear came into those sad eyes, then he simply said, "I shall make the appointment"; and the appointment was made. Judging from this incident alone it would be hard to tell which was the greater man, the one who gave this noble and generous advice or the one who followed it.

On another occasion they were in the President's office alone late at night telling stories—Lincoln seated in his big easy chair with his feet on the table—when an usher brought in a card and handed it to the President. Ashley arose and was about to leave but

Lincoln said, "No, Ashley, don't go. The old mouser wants to see me a moment, about some petty office, I've no doubt. He never comes here unless he is after some office, and he bores me almost to death." In a moment the door-keeper let in Hannibal Hamlin, vice-president of the United States, and sure enough, as Lincoln expected, the old mouser, as the President always called him, had called to get a friend of his appointed to a consulship.

Governor Ashley went into congress a poor man, and while others were "casting their anchors to windward" and taking advantage of their positions and opportunities to accumulate fortunes, he left congress, to his great honor, as poor as he entered it. The very fact that he was not "on the make" made him a little unpopular with those members and their lobbyist friends who were. The weak and superficial Colfax of Indiana, smirched with the corruption of the "Credit Mobilier;" the ex-clergyman, Pomeroy, of Kansas, caught in the act of bribery; the pious Patterson of New Hampshire, selling his vote in the senate for railroad bonds, and Ben Perley Poor, chief toady to Washington society for forty years, and for forty years the chief pander of a corrupt congressional lobby, all of course disliked James M. Ashley—but all these men together would not make one man able, morally and intellectually to reach Mr. Ashley's waist band.

Mr. Ashley could not have retained his seat in congress, most likely, had it not been for the generosity of his political friends. Samuel Hooper of Boston, Garritt Smith of New York, and others often sent him checks to aid him in his political campaigns. On one occasion when his election was in doubt, a distinguished publisher of Philadelphia, still alive, sent him a check for one thousand dollars. So devoted were his eastern friends and so impressed were the anti-slavery leaders with the value of his services, that they were determined that he should be kept in congress at any price, until the questions growing out of slavery and reconstruction were settled.

James M. Ashley was fashioned upon a large pattern, every way,—physically, intellectually, and morally. There was nothing petty, small, or mean about him. He took large views of things. Had he been a farmer he would have been a farmer upon a large scale. He would have had large fields, he would have admired and preserved all the great trees, and like Webster he would have been delighted with the sweet breath of great oxen when driven before him. He was a natural leader of men. There was that inspiration and magnetism about him which comes from physical vigor, sincerity of purpose, determined will, and manly courage. In all the great political battles of his time he was in the front of the fight, never whining in the hospital or looking out for personal safety in the rear. He was impressed by the sublime and lofty sayings of the ancient prophets, and their great phrases were often upon his tongue. In his first speech in congress in 1860, he pointed out the evils and wickedness of slavery, and predicted what would be the result of a war in its favor, and warned the slave-owners, gathered about him in the House, that "God is not mocked and His judgments will not sleep forever." He loved poetry, and he hardly made a speech that did not contain some of the lines of Whittier. He loved little children, and they knew instinctively that he was their friend. The last time I ever saw him alive two little girls, after ten minutes acquaintance, were in his lap filling the button-holes of his coat with bouquets.

Not only was the generous heart of this great man enlisted in behalf of the bondmen of his own country, but it went out in sympathy for all peoples struggling for liberty in foreign lands. In his early manhood he prepared to join Lopez in his effort to secure the emancipation of Cuba, but when he arrived in New York on his way to the Island, he learned that the unfortunate leader had been captured by the Spaniards and garroted in the city of Havana. His last public act was to preside at a great

meeting in Toledo to express sympathy for the unfortunate Armenians.

The sympathy of James M. Ashley was the genuine thing—not an affectation—and hollow pretense to keep himself in fashion with cuckoos who sing to the popular taste. When the friends and disciples of John Brown, men who had encouraged him to make his raid upon slavery at Harper's Ferry, all deserted him, and public opinion was hostile or silent, Mr. Ashley, alone among all the men in the country, had the reckless and daring courage to go into the midst of the angry and excited people of the South and visit the friendless and deserted old man in his prison at Charleston—procured permission for the wife to visit her husband there and when the tragedy was over, like another Joseph of Arimathea, asked for and procured the body of the dead martyr, and caring for it gently and kindly, sent it to the North where it now rests among the Adirondack hills. Meeting the stricken wife he said, with tears streaming down his face, "Dear Madam, Virginia has hung your husband, but Virginia will some day erect a monument to his memory, and his name will live among the martyrs of freedom and the race when all rest of us are forgotten."

This act alone should endear the memory of James M. Ashley to all humane, generous, christian men and women everywhere, and for all time.

Was the political life of James M. Ashley a success? Picture the young boy without money and without a home, standing upon the southern bank of the Ohio at midnight, without the hope of reward and at the peril of his life aiding a poor, friendless negro to escape from bondage. And then picture him in the prime of manhood standing in the halls of Congress, with all the grace and dignity of an Apollo, sustained by the applause of a great nation and the moral sense of the civilized world, having the charge and securing the passage of the 15th Amendment to the Constitution, which abolishes the institution of slavery in this country forever. Then he might well have repeated in the triumph of

victorious accomplishment, those words of the ancient prophet which he had uttered in his first speech in Congress years before, "God is not mocked and His judgments will not sleep forever!" When we consider that the main purpose and object of Governor Ashley in his public life was to restrict or destroy slavery and secure the enfranchisement of the negro, need we ask the question whether his public life was a success?

Even the ancient Cato who declared year after year as he entered and retired from the Roman Senate that "Carthage must be destroyed," if he had lived to see Marius sitting upon the ruins of the desolated city, could not have enjoyed a greater victory or realized for his policy a more glorious success!

A few months ago I was seated alone with Gov. Ashley on the platform of his car which had been switched off by the shore of one of the most charming lakes in Michigan. The sun had gone down in the west and the fading glories of the twilight were slowly being gathered into the shadows of the wooded hills which surrounded us. Nothing disturbed the silence except the water of the lake as its gentle ripples, with a monotonous rhythm, kissed the clean white sand of the shore. Inspired by the hour and the surroundings he recounted to me there the fascinating story of his life. The hardships, the perils, and joys of his early youth—his thrilling adventures in aiding slaves to escape—his experiences as a country printer and editor—his early political campaigns in Ohio—his explorations of a branch of the Columbia River through the tremendous gorges and canons of the mountains of Montana, a territory to which he had given organization and a name, and of which he was at that time governor—how without personal capital and without experience in such an enterprise, and in the face of obstacles which would have appalled an ordinary man, he had built and equipped three hundred miles of railroad—and then, as the stars came forth one by one, he described that splendid galaxy of great men with whom he had been associated in public life, Lincoln, Sumner, Wade, Wilson, Win-

ter Davis and others. I remember the touching pathos with which he said that he was almost the last survivor of those friends with whom he had acted during the war, and the period of reconstruction, and that in the natural course of events he must soon follow them. He declared that from his early manhood he had never known the feeling of fear, and that the passage from this life had no terrors for him. He declared that death seemed to him as necessary, as natural, and as beautiful in the harmonious mystery of nature as the ripening of a blade of corn in its season. There was not a trace of vanity or offensive self-consciousness in all his conversation. It laid bare not only the life but the character, the mind, and the heart of my friend. It reminded me of the lines of Whittier, whom he loved best of all the poets:

"And so the shadows fall apart,
And so the west winds play,
And all the windows of my heart
I open to the day."

It was my last extended conversation with Governor Ashley, and with it I close this poor and unworthy tribute to one of the most large hearted and manly of men, one of the most charitable and faithful of friends, and one of the most consistent, honorable, incorruptible and devoted public servants this country has ever had!

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY MR. WILLIAM N. BROWN.

To speak of the departed in presence of the living is always a delicate task, but when the life spoken of is one worthy of the highest commendation and praise, the task becomes alike difficult and delicate. To the task which the courteous invitation of the pastor of this church assigns me, I bring neither excellency of speech or words of wisdom, and I should do injustice to the memory of a friend whom I honored and esteemed highly, if I attempted either eulogy, or rhetorical display, or utter one word of undeserved praise of Governor J. M. Ashley. But it is not necessary to do either, because there is enough of grand achievement in his

life to merit more praise than I can bestow in this tribute to his memory. His work and what he did for the world, will be appreciated by future generations, not our own. His achievements, grand as they are, were more for the future than the present. The choicest blessings which we possess to-day, either as individuals or as a nation, are not the results of our own efforts but have been bequeathed to us by the efforts of those who have gone before, and are the most precious gifts that have been left us. But the individual, or the people who receive the achievements, glories and benefits of the generations which preceded them, without adding to them themselves, are unworthy of such gifts. Such, I take it, was the thought, the inspiration, or ambition that controlled and directed Gov. Ashley during all the years of his busy and useful public and private life. It is the expressed wish that I should speak of him in his relations to the business world, because it was in this relation that I knew, and was associated with him for a time; but I shall confine myself to one business enterprise, with which he was connected, and its relations to this city. The world is too great a subject for anybody to discuss in a few minutes. In this one connection there is enough to illustrate and emphasize the main characteristics of Gov. Ashley.

When he left

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he was poor in dollars and cents, but rich in the esteem of mankind for all time. He had consecrated his life to the cause of human freedom, in the interest of a race from whom he could not receive, and did not expect any reward, save perhaps their gratitude and appreciation for his services in their behalf; both of which, he told me, he received to the fullest extent, as the colored people did everything in their power to honor him while living, and preserve and perpetuate his memory when dead. They collected a portion of his addresses delivered on public occasions, and caused them to be bound in a beautiful souvenir volume, presenting him with twenty copies for his

friends, one of which I possess. This book, to the intelligent and better educated of the colored people, is very precious, and held almost sacred.

Soon after he retired from public life, the education of his children and fitting them for lives of usefulness occupied his attention, and the place where this could be done to the best advantage, was what first turned his attention to this city. His home was in Toledo, and of course he had known of the university, and inquiry soon convinced him that Ann Arbor was the place to rear and educate his children; in this connection while looking up the advantages, opportunities and possible future of this city, both educational and from a business point, he made an

IMPORTANT DISCOVERY.

On looking at the railroad map of Michigan, he saw a vast territory extending north and south across the state, a distance of over three hundred miles, rich in varied resources, and climatic conditions suited to any conditions in life; with Toledo on the south and some point on Lake Michigan on the north. At the same time he learned that somebody else had also made the same discovery, and had actually begun to take advantage of the opportunity; for an examination of the railroad records at Toledo disclosed the important fact that a Railroad Co. had been organized, legally, in connection with the great Pennsylvania system, out of that city, and had secured very valuable terminal and depot privileges from the Pennsylvania Company into Toledo; had actually paid for them, and had built a few miles, northward out of the city. Ann Arbor then had only the Michigan Central as an outlet, and as few and poor accommodations as that, or any other railroad could give a community that it had, as it supposed, firmly within its grasp, with no possible hope of relief. Because the late Hon. J. F. Joy, who was then at the head of the Michigan Central management believed, and boldly asserted, that no combination of men and capital would ever be found foolish enough to undertake to build a railroad from any

direction to Ann Arbor; "for," said Mr. Joy, "there is nothing to build a railroad for, but the few students who attend the university." Gov. Ashley was just the man for the occasion. His great mind grasped the advantages of the situation, and once a plan was formulated, like Napoleon, prompt and vigorous execution was sure to follow. Further inquiry disclosed the fact that the railroad which had been started out of Toledo was owned by the Pennsylvania Company, and to secure this was the first thing in order. He went at once to Philadelphia, and "Tom Scott," the greatest railroad man that the world ever produced, was then at the head of the Pennsylvania system, which under his management and control, became and is to-day the greatest and most perfect railroad system in the world. Gov. Ashley went to Mr. Scott's office in Philadelphia in the morning and met him. They had been friends when Mr. Scott was Secretary of War and Gov. Ashley was in Congress. Gov. Ashley told me he never received a warmer, or more friendly greeting in his life than on this occasion, and the entire morning was spent in talking over old times, when both were in public life; Mr. Scott laying aside his vast business demands and refusing to see anybody. When Gov. Ashley apologized for trespassing on his time, Mr. Scott remarked: "Ashley, I will not see any man while you remain in the city, if you will be my guest, and I want you to stay just as long as you can." After returning from lunch Gov. Ashley inquired about the railroad that had been started north out of Toledo. Mr. Scott said, "the whole thing, is right there in my safe;" that he never knew anything about whose crazy notion it was, only that "the stocks and bonds are right there in my safe." Gov. Ashley asked what kind of an arrangement he could make for the purchase of these bonds and stocks, amounting I think to \$300,000, and was told by Mr. Scott "any kind of an arrangement you want to." In the language of Gov. Ashley himself, this just suited him, because he had not a dollar to pay for them with. Time

forbids my going into the details of this transaction, though it is very interesting. Suffice it to say, that in ten minutes Gov. Ashley had purchased the entire property, without paying a dollar down; the arrangement in brief being that a new railroad company was to be organized, extending as far as Ann Arbor, and an equal amount of the bonds of the new road given to the Pennsylvania Company for the stocks and bonds of the old company. The striking part of this whole transaction was, that the entire amount of the bonds and stocks were delivered to Gov. Ashley by Mr. Scott, simply on honor, which was just as good as his bond, and Mr. Scott knew it. Here we have the remarkable instance of a man buying a million and a half dollars worth of property, turning around and paying for it in a few days, with \$300,000 worth of the same property. Because the new road was organized and the new bonds issued and turned over to Mr. Scott before one dollar more had been spent, or a rod of additional road built. This was the agreement and both parties lived up to it. Neither of the parties to the transaction had the slightest idea of its vastness or importance. Gov. Ashley saw only the advantages it would be to his road when it should be extended north and Mr. Scott thought there never would be a road built any further north than Ann Arbor if it ever reached that city. This was shown by Mr. Scott saying to Gov. Ashley, that he did not consider the whole thing worth 300,000 cents, and advised him not to fool away his time with it; that he would find trying to build and run a steam commercial railroad very different from running an underground railroad, such as Ashley had been connected with. "Because," said Mr. Scott, "Every time you delivered a colored man in Canada you could declare a dividend."

Soon after this arrangement several new roads were built into Toledo, and the trackage and terminals secured by this purchase became very valuable, the income from them paying the interest on the whole indebtedness of the road

as far north as Owosso, added to its very small earnings at that time.

The people of Ann Arbor had long felt the need of an additional outlet, and aided the new road in every possible manner. This enterprise never attracted any attention or scarcely noticed in rail road circles, until after it had begun to move north from this city. Then its importance began to attract attention, and never did an enterprise encounter more bitter and violent opposition than the Ann Arbor road, when once started northward. And never was a man called on to meet and overcome more difficulties than Governor Ashley at this time. All the power, the selfishness and greed of the rail roads were combined, and hurled at Governor Ashley to crush him at one blow, by destroying his enterprise, ruining his credit, blackening his good name, and driving him into bankruptcy and financial ruin. But they failed. Like Frederick the Great, if he was ever crushed or defeated, he did not know it, and kept right on just as if nothing had happened. This road intersected every rail road in Michigan, and entered territory they had long considered their own. To crush and destroy this enterprise and its promoter was the first law of the other roads. The good name and fame of Governor Ashley was outrageously assailed. His integrity attacked in the most mean and underhanded manner, in the commercial and financial circles of New York, Boston and Philadelphia. But he triumphed over them all, and his efforts were crowned with success.

At this particular time a great emergency arose in the affairs of Governor Ashley which shows him to have been a man equal to any crisis. A new enterprise had been started to build a rail road from Lansing, in connection with the Lake Shore via of DeWitt, St. Johns, Maple Rapids, Alma, Mt. Pleasant, and north to Lake Michigan. If successful, of course this destroyed the Ann Arbor enterprise, by taking possession of the territory. To prevent this, it was necessary that the Ann Arbor road get into the territory at once, and strange to say, almost without money, and with the

combined opposition of the rail roads fighting him at every point, he started in at Owosso and built north to St. Louis a distance of fifty miles. An achievement unrivaled in the history of any other man who ever undertook to build a rail road. In the meantime the Lake Shore project had been organized, and Mr. A. W. Wright, one of the largest and most influential capitalists in the State, had been interested, and the road was being built from Alma as fast as money would do it, twelve miles having been finished, and trains running, and twenty miles nearly ready for trains. When this stage was reached, the Lake Shore was then to take hold, and commence work from Lansing north, trains to be running in a few months over the entire line as far north as Mt. Pleasant, a distance of about eighty miles I think. You will pardon a personal mention of myself as I wish to make very clear this crisis in the affairs of Governor Ashley. Mr. A. W. Wright and myself were on our way to Chicago, to meet Mr. John Newall, then at the head of the Lake Shore system, and the late Hon. J. M. Turner, of Lansing, to complete the arrangement with the Lake Shore road. When we had nearly reached Chicago, we were advised of the death of Mr. W. H. Vanderbilt, and that Mr. Newall had left Chicago by special train for New York, because at this time the most important factor in the affairs of the Vanderbilts was John Newall. We reached Detroit from Chicago the next morning, and I happened to meet H. W. Ashley, whom I had often met in connection with these matters and esteemed him highly, although I was identified with a rival or hostile interest. Mr. Ashley requested that Mr. Wright and myself go to New York and see his father and talk matters over, and to pay no attention to what the rival rail road interests said about him, but to go and judge for ourselves. At this time neither Mr. Wright nor myself had ever met Governor Ashley. As I was going to Washington the next day it was agreed that I should go to New York, study Governor Ashley and make up

my mind what manner of man he was. That evening I went out to Lansing and while there met one of the managers of one of the great railway systems of the state, and asked him about Governor Ashley; and if this gentleman could be believed, there were few worse men outside of state prison; concluding by saying, "no man was safe in selling him a car load of iron." Were this man alive I would give his name, but he is dead and my lips are sealed. Two days later in the Ebbitt House, in Washington, I met Maj. McKinley. Here again you will pardon a personal allusion, necessary to properly explain matters. I had a very pleasant personal acquaintance with Maj. McKinley, sufficient to warrant me in asking for any information I desired, and that it was proper for him to give me, and had often done so. He represented the Canton district in Congress, which I think joins the Toledo district, that had been represented by Governor Ashley in Congress, and it occurred to me that this distinguished gentleman would know Governor Ashley. So I asked him the question, and he told me he knew him well. I then told him my object, and asked him his opinion of Governor Ashley in confidence, and he said he regarded him as "one of the grand men of this country; a man of unquestioned integrity, and above doing a mean or dishonest act if he knew it. That he did not know how well fitted he might be, for conducting great business or commercial enterprises, but any wrong that might occur, would be the result of honest mistakes, because scheming and questionable methods were entirely foreign to his character, and that any man could trust him implicitly."

Did time permit I would contrast the difference between selfish, mean, greed for money, and a generous, broad and fair view of a man's character. The next morning I met Governor Ashley at his office in New York, for the first time. After studying the man, finding out all I could about him, I came back and simply reported to Mr. A. W. Wright and the other gentleman, that instead of "a scheming, dishonest sharp-

er," I found Governor Ashley to be one of the grand men of the world. That the motives which prompted Judas to betray his master, and for the very same object, selfish greed for money, was at the bottom of the slanders of Governor Ashley.

In the course of a few weeks, Governor Ashley was master of the situation. We sold him our enterprise and abandoned the Lake Shore project. From that hour Governor Ashley was recognized in the great financial affairs of New York, and his enterprise became a factor in the great rail road transactions of that city. The Ann Arbor road was soon completed to Lake Michigan, a distance of over three hundred miles, and it seems as if this would have satisfied the ambition of most any man. Not so with him. Just here let me relate an occurrence which is only one of a thousand that might be related. There were two men whom the Governor wished to interest in his road, and as I was familiar with the country and had the details of its resources on hand, he sent me to see one of them first. I went over to the Union Trust Co., and met this gentleman and made a truthful and correct representation of the merits of the enterprise, and concluded by saying: "Dave, you can not do better than invest your money in this enterprise." The gentleman then turned to me and he said: "Brown, do you know Governor Ashley real well? I said I did. Then said he: "I fully agree with you that the Governor's road will be the best piece of railroad property except the Michigan Central, in Michigan, when it is completed to Lake Michigan. But just as soon as it gets there, Ashley will either tunnel or bridge that lake, and I don't want to be in a position to have to help furnish the money to do it. It is only about a hundred miles across there and that will never stop Ashley."

On my return the Governor asked me what my friend said, and I told him. He laughed heartily and said that he proposed to both tunnel and bridge the lake, but he did not know that anybody suspected it, but that it was not going to cost as much money as people would

suppose. This was the first time I ever heard of what afterwards really occurred in tunneling and bridging Lake Michigan. At that time he had evidently conceived the idea of taking whole trains of freight cars across the Lake, this, no man or enterprise ever thought possible, as no man but Governor Ashley would have attempted it. So great was his confidence in what he undertook, that he never faltered or hesitated in the execution. The transporting of whole freight trains across Lake Michigan, was a novel and untried experiment. The magnitude of the undertaking would have caused most any other man to have gone at it cautiously. Not so with him, the greatness of the undertaking lent a charm to it for him. Instead of one boat to try the experiment, two were ordered, involving an outlay of half a million dollars. By this one daring and fearless experiment, involving the outlay of this sum of money, he completely revolutionized the whole question of the commerce of the northwest, and across the great lakes. It required a man with a sublime courage to do this, but he had it.

To this city he was loyal and devoted, and did everything in his power to honor and benefit it. When he organized his road the name of our city was included, and when the road had reached a stage of importance, it was named the "Ann Arbor Route." When a new engine was purchased Ann Arbor was painted upon it in large letters; when a private car was purchased its name was Ann Arbor; and finally when the time came for reorganization, and others had to assume control of the great enterprise, and a new name selected, he requested that the road be named after our city and all others dropped, and it was done. By reason of this great enterprise bearing the name of this city, its commercial and business importance is given great prominence, so that we are known in every commercial and financial center of the globe. The Ann Arbor road has brought us in closer relations with a portion of the state from which we were before completely isolated. It has

opened up and made tributary to us a portion of the state with which we had before no connection. It has brought our great university into closer and more intimate relations with that portion of the state where it has always found its truest friends and ablest defenders, and thousands of students have availed themselves of the university, because of these closer and more intimate relations. It has brought many people to our city to make it their permanent home, and more will follow. And in a thousand ways that I can not take time to mention it has contributed to our prosperity. For all this honor, and all these benefits, we are indebted to Governor Ashley.

The university he regarded as one of the greatest institutions of learning in the world because of its equality to all who enter it, and its absolute freedom from caste or any catering to wealth and social position. The presidency of this institution he regarded as the highest and most honorable position any man could occupy, if he discharged the duties of this important office with ability. For the present occupant of this great office he had a most profound regard and appreciation. He said on one occasion that President Angell would live and be remembered a thousand years after nearly every president of the United States had been forgotten.

When he last visited this city, less than one year ago, he came to lecture, on the name and fame of the man with whom he had been so intimately associated, whose confidence and friendship he enjoyed to the fullest extent—Abraham Lincoln; and those of us who heard that great lecture will never forget it, and we know that no man could have spoken of another as he spoke of Abraham Lincoln, except he had sustained to him just the relations that Mr. Ashley sustained to Mr. Lincoln. At this time he was very feeble, although he seemed entirely unconscious of the fact. His son, H. W. Ashley, came with him from Toledo, and when Judge Harriman and myself met him at the depot it became a serious question in our minds, whether he would be able

to appear at all before the audience, though such a thought never entered his mind. That afternoon he laid out more work for the next forenoon for both of us, than I was capable of doing, strong and healthy as I was. The next morning, knowing his aversion to riding, I had the carriage around on the side street where it could be called when wanted. We were going over to call on Judge Cooley and President and Mrs. Angell first, and he proposed to walk, indeed he rather insisted on it.

We drove over to Judge Cooley's and the meeting between these two great men was to me as sad and painful, as it was interesting and instructive. Both had been giants; both had accomplished great results in their respective fields of labor, but were now feeble, and I could not help but feel that their life's work was done, and as I had known both of them in the years of their greatest usefulness and power, could not help but ask myself the question as they sat there talking. Why do such lives have a limitation? Why do they ever end? Why do the harsh laws of nature bring feebleness to the body when within there is such a mighty force capable of doing so much for the world. But I must not dwell on this subject. As they talked over social, family, university and other pleasant and minor matters, the conversation finally turned to themselves. Gov. Ashley laid down a course of exercise for Judge Cooley to follow daily, and I know it would require the strongest athlete Ann Arbor ever had to carry it out. When the Governor had finished his suggestions on this subject, Judge Cooley, looking out of the window, said to me: "Brown whose carriage is that out there in front of the house?" Before I could answer, the Governor appreciating the keen, humorous sarcasm of the inquiry, answered, he only accepted the carriage out of courtesy to Mr. Brown; that he was going to walk, and would have done so except for Mr. Brown. As a matter of fact he could not have walked a single block. The interesting part of this incident is this: Here were two great men, both of them

in a weak physical condition, one of them perfectly conscious of his condition, and as I believed very wisely preserving all the strength he had left; the other utterly unconscious of his physical weakness and regardless of the necessity for preserving himself and the strangest part of it all is, that he thought himself capable of doing just the things he told Judge Cooley to do, because there was no make believe in him; there were no false pretenses in his composition. Another simple incident will illustrate another phase of his character that I cannot refer to. There was one of the great railway corporations, and its managers, that he thought friendly to him, and doing all they could to help and befriend him. They had his confidence, and I think he often sought their advice and counsel in his troubles. I had not been on Wall street long when I discovered that this corporation and its managers were meaner than the others that were outspoken and bitter in their heartless opposition; as they were using and betraying his confidence to his detriment and injury. When I succeeded in convincing him that this was really the case, he was almost overcome, for a few seconds, and I never saw him so before. When he had recovered himself, without a word of comment, he told me this very humorous story of the parrot at the circus: "The man who stands at the entrance of the circus had a parrot, and as the crowds were pushing and crowding to get in, it was his duty to call out don't be in a hurry; take your time; plenty of room; your turn next. One day the parrot was missing from its accustomed perch by the side of its master, and when the crowds had passed into the circus, the owner started out in search of his bird. He had not gone far when his attention was drawn to about a hundred crows that were making an awful racket on one of the hill sides near by. As he approached nearer the scene he soon discovered his parrot, engaged in an awful struggle with the crows. It had already killed more than a dozen, and was saying to the others, "Don't be in a hurry; take

your time; plenty of room; your turn next." When the parrot was rescued by its owner Polly's feathers were nearly all gone, and she was sore and injured generally. The kind master was doing all he could to relieve the parrot of its injuries and in response to some of his sympathetic attentions Polly looked up into his face and said: "well, never mind, I am still in the circus, and those crows are dead, and what are living are scared so they will never assail me again." I am like that parrot. What would have made most any other man frantic with rage and indignation at such treachery and meanness, only called forth from him a humorous story which perfectly illustrated the situation. But time forbids further mention. My friend, Judge Harriman, this afternoon, in speaking of this useful and busy life asked me this question: "What has become of this mighty force, so capable of accomplishing so much good for the world?" I answer: "I do not know." "What has become of this bright light so recently extinguished?" asked my friend. I do not care to know. I know it lives here in the splendid monuments it has left behind, that are enduring as the coming years of distant time. It lives here in a race redeemed from bondage and oppression and elevated into the sunlight of freedom, clothed with all the blessings of independent manhood and womanhood, with life liberty and happiness guaranteed to them and their posterity for all time, by a change in the organic law of your country and mine. To the accomplishment of these great results this life contributed much, and consecrated a greater part of the years of its usefulness. It lives here in the construction of a great highway of commerce, extending from the inland waters of one great commonwealth on the south to the shores of the inland seas of another, on the north, a distance of three hundred miles; it lives in the great ships that it caused to be launched in the inland seas, revolutionizing the commerce of the great lakes; it lives in all the pleasant memories and associations that it has left behind. The people and the community which Gov. Ashley did so much to benefit and honor, would be ungrateful did they not honor his memory.

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